

NEW SERIES

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PROCEEDINGS:
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A VERMONT
Quarterly



Deficiencies in Our History
Shortsleeve Emporium Early Vermont Artists
Beginnings of Catholic Schools in Vermont
Narrative of Richard Lee — II
Court martial of Isaac Tichenor
Dr. Thomas Young and Bernard Romans

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Vermont Historical Society

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The Vermont Historical Society is both an archives of invaluable material for the study of community, state and nation, and an educational institution promoting the study of and research in history as a way of approach to the problems of man in his relation to society. It performs for the State of Vermont its historical function, and is the official state historical society, occupying quarters in the State Library and Supreme Court Building, where it maintains its library, manuscript collections, and the State Museum.

It is supported both by state appropriation and by private endowment. Bequests and gifts, either of funds, of books and manuscripts, or of relics, are welcomed. The Society, through its educational activities, its publications, and its program of preservation of historical materials, serves a membership of nearly five hundred as well as the citizens of Vermont. Its resources are open to any serious student between the hours of 8 a.m. and 4 p.m., except Saturdays, when the library and museum close at noon.

You and your friends are cordially invited to join the Society and thereby further its aims and objectives. Membership (two dollars) brings with it a yearly subscription to the VERMONT QUARTERLY, as well as special publication discounts. A yearly convention of the membership is held in January, and annually the Society meets with the New York State Historical Association in the Champlain Valley Conference.

VERMONT
Quarterly



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EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON

Editor

MONTPELIER

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Vermont Historical Society
1943

NEW SERIES

SEPTEMBER

VOL. XI No. 3-4

DEFICIENCIES IN OUR HISTORY
AND *RESEARCH IN PROGRESS*

AN EDITORIAL

ONLY eight years after the founding of the Vermont Historical Society, Professor James Davie Butler of Norwich University laid before the new group a program for filling in the gaps in Vermont history, in an address which he called "Deficiencies in Our History." Over the century which has elapsed since Professor Butler's lament, many of these have been filled in. But even today there are still so many that an authoritative history of the state cannot be written.

There is an extensive amount of laborious spadework yet to be done in the original sources located in the State House Archives, the Historical Society, the University of Vermont, and the town records. A hundred years of historical writing have not produced many of the studies we need to have before a single person can be expected to buckle down to the job of writing the history of the state.

How are these gaps to be filled in? This is certainly the responsibility of the Society, a responsibility which cannot be filled merely by issuing a call to Vermonters to interest themselves in their history. We must organize our efforts and attempt to fill glaring gaps, rather than merely encourage miscellaneous research, though the latter is of course always useful.

There are two ways we can go at the problem of covering the history of the state: functionally, and geographically. Neither one alone will give us the needed over-all picture. But let's look at the functional aspect first, in terms of a series of studies.

First, we must have a picture of the French occupation of the Champlain Valley, for it was here that Vermont history began. A revised edition of the study made by Guy Omeron Coolidge and first published as an issue of the *Proceedings*,¹ should make an excellent opener for the series.

Second. Following the French infiltration, came the Anglo-Saxon settlers. We need to know what were the broad tides that started movement into Vermont, where the settlers came from, what determined the direction of their migration, and what conditioned the place and character of their settlement.

Third, there is the land controversy which has so overshadowed the whole Revolutionary period. The researches of Matt Jones, E. P. Alexander and Dixon Ryan Fox have materially altered the conclusions of the pietistic school of Vermont historians. On the other hand, the cautions uttered by John Clement have necessitated certain revisions of these recent studies.

Fourth, we must know the impact of the Revolution upon the economic life and political thinking of the Vermonters, and the relation of it and the prior land controversy to the separatist movement. To date, Henry Steele Wardner's essay on the Haldimand Negotiations² affords the best sidelight on the latter, but the two decades of work which Professor Clarence Rife (see *Research in Progress*) has done upon this period should give us a more complete picture.

Fifth, we must begin filling in the broad economic and social gaps with a study of commerce and communication in the early days. Routes of communication determined not only the settlement, but also the economic development of the early period. We know all too little about it.

Sixth, we need an analysis of the social life of the pioneers: their occupations, home life, and social development.

Seventh, we need to integrate our knowledge as to the intellectual life of the early Vermonter. Setting aside the graduation orations and political speeches, we must find out more about their character and thought to illustrate the impact of frontier life on the intellect. Here

1. VHS, *Proceedings*, vol. VI, no. 3, Sept. 1938.

2. VHS, *Proceedings*, vol. II, no. 1, Mar. 1931, pp. 3-29.

should go an attempt to relate the thought of men like Ethan Allen and Samuel Williams to more general trends.

Eighth. One of the most significant determining influences in Vermont life was the westward movement. Vermont became almost a way station on the road westward, and its population changed rapidly. Professor Stilwell's study, *Migration from Vermont*,³ published by the Society, fills this spot.

Ninth. The settlers who went from Vermont, first into western New York, carried with them a multitude of isms which brought to that area the name "Burnt over land." The origins and character of these isms, which upset social and political life in the state and had a potent influence in other states in the period before the Civil War, are treated by David Ludlum in his *Social Ferment in Vermont*,⁴ a thorough study which we hope to add to the series.

Tenth. The coming of the railroads, in company with western agricultural competition, altered the whole economic character of the state. Many towns, prosperous at mid-century, lie nearly deserted today. In an analysis made here lie, no doubt, many of the explanations of this situation.

Eleventh. While Vermont was primarily an agricultural state following the Civil War, like the rest of the nation she began to develop important industries, based for the most part on her natural resources such as marble, granite, and slate. But the machine tool industries of Windsor and Springfield also grew out of the Vermont past, and need a good study. Textiles and hardware also became important. Why they located where they did, their relation to American industrial growth, and their relation to the people and politics of the state (such as their labor relations) are largely untouched problems.

Twelfth. Although industry exerted an increasing influence over politics as the century drew to a close, there was also a considerable progressive movement which emerged as the nineteen hundreds opened. Its relation to the Vermont past and to the American progressive movement of the period sheds much light on the origin and character of Vermont politics. Professor Flint's *Progressive Movement in Vermont*⁵ fits in here.

3. VHS, *Proceedings*, vol. V, no. 2, June 1937.

4. David H. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont*, New York, Col. Univ. Press, 1939.

5. Winston A. Flint, *Progressive Movement in Vermont*, Washington, American Council on Public Affairs [1941].

Thirteenth. The rural growth of the state is perhaps the key to its development. What happened to the pioneer agriculture outlined in volume six, and what were the internal and external stresses that brought about the change? The Country Life Commission's *Rural Vermont*⁶ has broken many paths here which could be profitably explored further with a historical perspective. A model for this volume would be Harold Fisher Wilson's *Hill Country of Northern New England*.⁷

Cutting horizontally across this functional examination of the growth of the state would be a geographical examination of its history. Here again work has been done, but in a disorganized sort of way. Town histories have been written, but they have been of varying merit and practically none have indicated their sources so that a check could be made upon their accuracy. In addition, some of the most important towns in the state remain yet untouched: the Capital of Vermont boasts only Daniel P. Thompson's gossipy account which now is past its eightieth year. The chapters from Abbe Maria Hemenway's *Gazetteer* referring to Montpelier were republished separately, but these are sixty years old. Rutland, Burlington, Barre have suffered equal neglect. Certainly no overall assessment of the state's history can be made with gaps such as these.

It is not enough, however, merely to attempt to get written histories of towns which have been passed over. In the first place this would be an interminable task, for there are over two hundred settled towns in the state. In the second place we would not then have any pertinent picture of the state, for most of the factors which determined the growth of the state cut across the arbitrary town lines which had, for the most part, been laid out by absentees without respect to or knowledge of the land or communication facilities. For that reason, it would seem more profitable to study the geographical history of the state in terms of regions and centers of growth. For instance, the growth of Burlington and Winooski should be treated as a unit. Or, to take a larger area, let us write the history of the West River Valley rather than unrelated sketches of the towns that border it. The West River is here the unifying factor which channeled settlement and determined subsequent economic development. Similarly, it would be useless to write the story of

6. Vt. Commission on Country Life, *Rural Vermont*, Burlington, 1931.

7. Harold F. Wilson, *Hill Country of Northern New England*, New York, Col. Univ. Press, 1936.

Calais except in company with history of Montpelier, for the settlers of the former were closely associated with those of the latter, and from the earliest days Calais has been tributary to the capital city. The whole Rutland-Proctor-Pittsford area ought to be examined as a unit, as should the Black River Valley. And so on.

Now this technique by no means eliminates town history. It is perfectly possible to pick a certain town within an area, and use it as a focal point to illustrate the development of the area. This is a useful and productive technique if utilized skillfully. But it becomes necessary, consequently, for the historian to examine the records of adjacent areas, and to inter-relate the political, economic and social currents within the region which have touched upon that town.

Actually, we do not know enough yet to be able to lay out on the map of the state certain areas and say positively that these are logical regions. We can do so in a preliminary sort of way, as above, but the actual delimitation of historical regions will arise out of the study of the records. Since we have to start somewhere, below are a few recommendations. It must be understood that these suggested regions are only approximate, and that interacting influences will sometimes converge within a larger or smaller area, and from different directions. The difficult task of the historian is to discover where common influences emerged most clearly.

In the following list rough areas are given first, with possible focal points for the study of the region given after. Many will find towns outside these areas; others will dispute the delimitation of territory. That is to be hoped, for the list is only tentative. And it should be pointed out that no contention is made that the particular focal point selected is *the* most important town.

(1) Upper Champlain Valley, *St. Albans*; (2) Lamoille Valley, *Cambridge* or *Morrisville*; (3) Lower Winooski Valley, *Burlington*; (4) Upper Winooski Valley, *Waterbury*; (5) Montpelier area, *Montpelier*; (6) Granite area, *Barre*; (7) Memphremagog area, *Newport*; (8) Upper Essex County, *St. Johnsbury*; (9) Coos Country, *Peacham*; (10) Lower Champlain Valley, *Ferrisburg* or *Shoreham*; (11) Central Addison County, *Middlebury*; (12) Western Rutland County, *Castleton*; (13) Marble area, *Rutland*; (14) Upper Bennington County, *Manchester*; (15) Lower Bennington County, *Bennington*; (16) West River Valley, *Newfane*; (17) Lower Connecticut, *Brattleboro*; (18) Lower Connecticut, *Bellows Falls*; (19) Black River Valley, *Ludlow*; (20) Springfield-Windsor area, *Windsor* and *Springfield*; (21) Middle Connecticut towns, *Hartford*; (22) White River Valley, *Royalton*; (23) Central Windsor County, *Woodstock*.

The last question is: what is the Vermont Historical Society going to do about these gaps? How is it going to try to interrelate this research to produce a significant historical picture?

Obviously, some further encouragement to serious students to select topics in Vermont history must be given. The greatest reservoir of potential historians is, of course, the graduate schools of the country. A program is now in the process of formulation, which will not only seek cooperation from the graduate faculties, but which will offer specific stimulation in the form of a yearly fellowship. Announcement of a permanent program of this kind will be made in an early number of the *Quarterly*.

The first fellowship awarded by the Vermont Historical Society for the filling of a gap as listed above, was made last year to Dr. Ernest L. Bogart, distinguished historian and economist. Professor Bogart is undertaking the history of Peacham, and will probably complete his work by summer of 1944. The amount of the fellowship, larger than the permanent program can hope to maintain out of the resources of the Society alone, was made possible through the estate of Miss Jennie C. Watts, of Peacham. The Society will welcome contributions from those interested in the promotion of this program, either for general purposes, or to accomplish one of these specific projects.

Finally, let it be stated that we do not intend to rehash material which has already been treated competently; there is too much to be done in fields as yet untouched or inadequately handled. The end product, we hope, will be two series, one functional, the other geographical, which will be developed as such. We further hope that it will shortly be possible to make available such research as has already been completed, as volumes of these series. Volumes of the functional series will appear without regard to order; volumes of the regional series, since there is no chronological order to them, will be numbered as written. Dr. Bogart's history will therefore become volume one of the latter, and our opening gun.

EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Bassett, T. D. Seymour. History of the Republican Party in Vermont.

Mr. Bassett has already contributed a part of his study, "The Rise of Cornelius Peter VanNess," to the *Quarterly*.

Bogart, Ernest L. History of Peacham, Vermont.

Dr. Bogart, a distinguished historian and economist, was retained by the Society to undertake the writing of this, the first in its series of regional studies of Vermont.

Clement, John P. Battle of Hubbardton.

Mr. Clement is the recognized authority on this much misrepresented battle. He is awaiting certain German translations before putting anything to paper. The Society has a list, compiled by the WPA under the sponsorship of the Society, of the men who participated in this battle, which we hope to publish along with Mr. Clement's essay.

Doane, Gilbert H. Genealogical and Social History of Fairfield, Vt.

Doane, Gilbert H. Bibliography of Vermont Local History.

Hall, C. Eleanor. The Embargo of 1807 in the Champlain Valley.

Hamilton, Milton W. Journalism in Vermont to 1850.

Kahn, Herman. The Land Problem in Colonial New York; a failure of British Imperial Administration.

This is a doctoral dissertation under way at the University of Minn.

Kane, Theodore F. Chelsea Green — A Social Study of Chelsea, Vt.

Rife, Clarence W. The Separatist Movement in Vermont to 1783.

This work by Professor Rife, of Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn., has been under way since 1922. We are looking forward with a great deal of interest to his conclusions on this much debated subject. A preliminary study was offered to Yale University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It was titled: "Vermont and Great Britain: A Study in Diplomacy, 1779-1783."

Slade, Mrs. Mary. History of Thetford, Vt.

Wilgus, Col. William J. History of Transportation in Vermont.

Williamson, Chilton. The Champlain Valley, Satellite of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1825.

Mr. Williamson, who will offer this as a Ph.D. thesis at Columbia, has already published extracts from his work in the *Quarterly* and in *New York History*.

The following studies of New England history are likely to produce some valuable material relating to this state.

Garvan, Anthony N. B. *Origins and Implications of Connecticut Colonial Architecture*. A doctoral thesis at Yale.

Kirkland, Edward C. *History of Transportation in New England in the Nineteenth Century*.

Nance, Joseph M. *Attitude of New England toward Western Expansion, 1606-1850*. A doctoral thesis at Texas University.

Records, Ralph H. *Land as a Basis of Social Discontent in New England*. A doctoral thesis at Oklahoma.

Reiner, Herbert. *The Free Soil Party in New England*. A Clark Ph.D. thesis.

The following town histories are said to be in progress. The information reaches us in devious ways, and cannot be guaranteed.

Berlin, Mrs. Mary G. Nye. Cornwall, Rev. John Irons.

Brandon, Lawrence Chamberlain. Guilford, John Gale.

Chelsea, Mr. John M. Comstock. Mt. Holly, Clarke S. Lyon.

The following bibliographical projects are on the agenda of the staff of the Society. The Index to the *Proceedings* (now the *Vermont Quarterly*) will be out in September. The checklist of maps we hope to have for the next issue.

Index to the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society, New Series, vols. I-X, 1930-1942.

Index to the *Collections* of the Vermont Historical Society (including the *Proceedings*, old series).

Chronological Index to Significant Documents in Vermont History.

Checklist of Maps of Vermont in the Vermont Historical Society.

Checklist of Historical Prints, Paintings and Photos in the Vermont Historical Society.

Bibliography of Vermont Local History.

We urge those who are working on topics in Vermont history, economics or politics to drop us a card outlining their work. We should like to remind them also that the pages of the *Quarterly* are open to short studies in these fields. Extracts from larger works will be readily considered.

Editor.

MIDDLEBURY SKETCHES

II — SHORTSLEEVE EMPORIUM

By ROBERT DAVIS

THE very first day that she came to work in the brick store on the corner, under the three big elms, Mattie heard Grandpa tell his story of the out-of-towner who ordered Snip-Snap Hammock Hooks, pocketed his merchandise the second day thereafter, and slapped down his open palm — Bango — upon the counter, ejaculating, "That's what I call hundred per cent service."

"Heh, heh, heh," cackled Grandpa, his voice like the ripping of canvas across the grain. "He give me just the motto I needed when I was starting into business. Sounds good, don't it? Shortsleeve for Service. I ain't deviated from it, not by a hair, for forty-seven years. I aim to stock everything the customer is liable to ask for, and if I ain't got it, I'll get it by telegraft. Don't you never forget it, Mattie. Apart from food, drugs, and raiment, Shortsleeve's got to carry everything. Everything!"

Grandpa, upon returning, in a wrinkled blue uniform, from Father Abraham's army, had taken over the succession of his father. He dispensed furniture and floor coverings, stoves and cooking ware, garden tools and seeds, carpenters' and painters' supplies, a limited range of dress materials and dressmakers' oddments, hardware for house and farm, books, games, stationery, and tobacco, for an area that measured thirty miles upon a side. His entry into business coincided with the halcyon era when Vermont was the world's recognized breeding center of the heavy-wool strain of Merino sheep. The old man prospered. Every April the Australian buyers of Merino rams sauntered up Main Street. Being of a saving nature, without competition, and of an accommodating habit, Grandpa even did exceedingly well. Let a customer but signalize an interest — yes, less than that, an inchoate premonition of an interest — in some new gadget, and Grandpa would sweat the wires for a dozen. To the rear of his Emporium was a disused haybarn, which he connected with the store by an overhead runway, and utilized for surplus stock. There would be a demand for it, sometime. By the time the United States went to war with Spain, both floors of the haybarn were crammed to the point of discomfort.

In one of Grandpa's final conversations with Mattie he stressed his

wishes as to the stock. "It ain't only the business side of it," he said, squeezing the arm of the twenty-five-year-old girl who would be his successor. They had locked the store of a Saturday night, had deposited the key behind the second blind, and were stopping for breath on the uphill climb toward home. "It's a matter of family pride. Shortsleeve has got to carry everything. Right in this one-horse village. City folks stare and exclaim: 'What, you've got Snook's Patent Wick Holders, way out here in the country! Only the best stores in New York stock them.' It gives me a tingle between my shoulder blades, Mattie, when they say that. I'm not just keeping a store. I'm keeping a store that would be a tip-top good store, anywhere on earth, even in New York."

"Now, Mattie," Grandpa Shortsleeve continued evenly, "I'm willing the store to you because I feel that you have caught on to the same feeling of duty to our reputation. We don't just keep store, we keep a world-famous store. And don't you never get married, Mattie, unless it's to someone who'll cooperate with you. To someone who'll keep up the store in our way. Y' understand?" The girl nodded soberly.

Sure enough, when Lawyer Stone came to read the will — he who was father to the present judge — Mattie got the store, stock, and good-will, free and clear, and ten thousand dollars in Rutland Railroad bonds. There were quite a few women in town who didn't think it was refined for a young unmarried woman to run a business. They argued that she ought to hire a manager and live dignified on her money. But Mattie had inherited something besides the store from Grandpa.

Off-and-on, she and the oldest Bushee boy had been keeping company, but he didn't have much ambition beyond fishing, shooting, and driving an occasional horse trot. You couldn't imagine Obed selling bobwire and paint. 'N' Mattie didn't neither. So that little romance petered out.

In one way Mattie was well fixed. But in another way she wasn't. The money in the bank and the store business were income, true enough, but along with them she was in honor bound to keep up Grandpa's policy of high-handed buying. Prestige costs. More than that, competition was arriving in the shape of chain stores, which had schemes of dramatic merchandizing of which Mattie knew nothing. And our hill-side farmers were no longer shipping Merino rams to the Orient for a thousand dollars a head.

As head of a business, credit was the first snag that floored Mattie. She called every man and women in town by their first name, had been to school with most of the younger ones. To say no to a school friend,

when he wanted to have his purchase charged on the book, didn't hardly seem neighborly. And to refuse it, right on top of Grandpa's death, when everyone in town had been so folksy, was pretty near an insult. And once you begin giving credit to a man, she learned later, it's not easy to call a halt. Those sales on credit ate pretty heavy into her capital. But it wasn't for ten or eleven years that she was obliged to sell part of her Rutland four per cents to square the hardware wholesalers.

It was her competitor, Eli Lazarus, who hurt her the worst. Especially the trick he pulled off. He was from Russia, and didn't speak good English. But he was a psychologist. He opened his five-ten-twenty-five cent store on the corner facing Mattie. Without delay he observed the flaw in her buying system and determined to profit by it. Becoming friends with some of the light-headed fellows at the pool-room, he made it worth their while to drop into the Shortsleeve Emporium, one caller every three or four days, to ask for articles which we don't need in Vermont any more than a goose needs roller skates.

But Mattie was faithful to her principles. Obedient to what Grandpa had said, she'd order a dozen. One boy would want suction domes to make hair grow. Another would clamor for badminton sets, the game that was about to sweep the country. Another hankered for hand-carved ivory chessmen. Another for marine binoculars. You must keep in mind that all this happened before World War Number One, when the cranks of the nation were inventing combination instruments, that would shoe a horse, open a can, remove a baby's tonsils, change a tire, pull teeth, peel potatoes, curl hair, sharpen a razor, pick a lock — all in one handy handle that fitted into a trouser pocket. And puzzles, God help us, of wire, paper, plastic, and chain, to enliven the hours of the convalescent and the camper. I can't begin to tell you all that Mattie bought — rubber croquet sets, carriages for triplet babies, rose-pickers on fishpoles. By this time both storehouses were chock-a-block full. And she really hadn't begun to stock up.

But eventually there came a time when her bonds were sold and her credit at the bank had been nibbled down to zero. Mattie was weary and worried. She had obeyed the rules of the hardware business, as Grandpa had imparted them. But she could not continue a step more. Her whole adult life had been inside the doors of the Emporium. It had been career, hobby, family, and ruling passion. Now it was at finis.

The Bank calculated that the active stock would just about cover Mattie's debts to the jobbers. The contents of the haybarn weren't worth anything, but would be thrown in as a make-weight.

Mattie would have the building and such overdue accounts as could be collected. There were a number of credits, extended to solvent farmers, which had been running for twelve or fifteen years. I, for one, could never understand how some of those rich old boys could sit back, and pay nothing, while Mattie took the rap.

A man from New York who specializes in buying bankrupt stocks for cash, came up to make Mattie an offer. He snooped into Grandpa Shortsleeve's haybarns, and came out with his hair full of cobwebs and hayseed. But with his eyes bugging out with excitement. I was in the post office when he got the telephone connection to New York. He told the man at the other end to drop everything and rush up to Middlebury. "Keep your trap shut, because this is the bargain of the century." He looked terribly savage when he came out of the booth, and left a seven cent tip for Annetta Moore, which shows how perturbed he was.

We Vermonters have a bump of curiosity, and that telephone message certainly titivated mine. What had that New York junk dealer seen among Grandpa's stock that merited being called the bargain of a lifetime? I trotted across to Mattie's Emporium.

She was in the fenced-in corner she had for an office, sunk low in her chair, the gimp and gumption all gone out of her. Inside her office there was just room for Grandpa's desk and the sheet-iron safe, so I leaned over the railing. "Watch yourself, Mattie," I says. "Don't commit yourself to nothing. You hear me? Don't sign anything. Don't agree to any trade with that there New Yorker. Not yet. He has discovered some sort of a goldmine in the barn. Don't say nothing, but meet me at Mother's when you go out for lunch. . . ."

She was as mystified as I. The dealer had talked down the goods, as was natural for a buyer. They were shopworn and out-of-date, et cetera. He had urged Mattie to name a round figure for the land, buildings and stock. But he gave no clue as to what had made him telephone New York in such a hurry for an expert.

"Unless I miss my guess, Mattie," I said, in parting, "when his partner arrives it will be getting dark. The two of them will want to borrow your keys, to check over the contents of the barns by flashlight, on the plea that the second man must return to New York on the flyer that goes south at eleven o'clock."

"But I mean to be there, too, Mattie. Somewhere out of sight. And whatever sum these dealers offer, you can bet your fly-swatter that amateur collectors would give five times more."

"Maybe you know the pigeon roost at the hind end of the Shortsleeve

barn. There ain't no pigeons, but the floor will bear my weight. Up aloft I may not hear everything, but I can see what the New Yorkers unwrap."

They came like I said, after dark. Mattie led them to the barn stairs, calls out, "Goodnight, make yourselves to home, I'll see you to-morrow," and went away, like I told her to. Meanwhile I was up above, watching like a cat.

It was dark when the two flashlights began to circulate. They had said goodbye to Mattie, and felt easy in their minds. They waited until the slamming of the door told that Mattie had gone home for the night. Then they commenced to buzz like fireflies.

The smaller shadow of the two became the guide. The language they spoke was of southeastern Europe. At a pile of boxes, in the north corner, they took turns tearing out the excelsior and paper, and flashing their lamps through the cracks. After they had gone over four boxes, they stopped to kiss one another on both cheeks. There were some secondary prizes but the big money was evidently in the coffin boxes. The only word I could overhear meant nothing. They had sung it in unison, between kisses, "Zee Gruber Sale." When they had finally retired, I took a squint into those cases myself, and went to tell Mattie.

"I know what they have discovered," I said to her. "But I still don't understand their excitement. It's nothing but a mess of those wooden Indians that used to stand outside cigar stores. There are twelve of them, one to a box. Of no conceivable use to anyone on earth. It's too deep for me. Back of them, in the corner of the barn, are about fifteen of those little statues of negro boys, in baggy pants, and fez hats, with rings in their hands, to stand beside horse blocks and hitch horses to. We are out of our depth, Mattie, but those two dealers must have a buyer. Let's us telephone Lydia's boy at Boston."

Neither Mattie nor I had ever telephoned further than Pittsford Mills, but we managed to get Boston. You never know what you can do, until you try. Lydia is Mattie's cousin, and her boy works for an interior decorator. He was needlessly talkative when he heard what we had in the store, and he brought his boss with him, as being more experienced.

"You have an unusual assortment of Americana of the Victorian or post-civil war period," Mr. Firenzo said. "It has a certain value, but the difficulty will be for us to contact the right collectors."

To my mind came the word I had overheard in the barn. "Does 'Gruber Sale' say anything to you?" I asked.

The decorator spun round, like he'd sat on a wasp. For a second I thought that he was going to make me happy with a moist embrace. "But, of course, of course, could anything be more perfect," he ejaculated. "The Augustus J. Gruber Dispersal Sale in Cincinnati. How stupid of me not to have remembered. The perfectly eyedential outlet. It is sublime! I will wire Mr. Oppenheim, the auctioneer, at once, begging that he include our items in the catalogue. This is straight down their alley."

Supported by Mr. Oppenheim's telegraphed acquiescence, and advised by Mr. Firenzo as to which objects had an antiquarian interest, we commenced to disinter Grandpa Shortsleeve's obsolete stock. Mattie located the inventory for 1879, which helped a good deal. Most of the stuff, of course, was rubbish. And with the things which weren't worth being sent to the Gruber sale we had a seriocomic local auction when the summer folks got here. That provided a harvest of laughs — particularly the bustles, shoulder capes, sunshades, and the wire forms for fitting dresses on.

But when the check and the auctioneer's account from the Gruber sale came, Mattie burst out crying. We hadn't realized what a tough ordeal the old girl had been through. Her whole scheme of life and religion had been shot out from under her. She gave me a peaked sort of smile behind her tears. "Grandpa was right, wasn't he? He said the surplus stock would save me yet. And it has." The Gruber accounting made nice reading for us Middlebury people.

Matthias Oppenheim, Auctioneer, to
The Shortsleeve Emporium, Dr.

In re articles consigned to the Augustus J. Gruber Dispersal Sale.

Series of 12 Appalachian Indian Chieftains, in original packing (The Schoolcraft Collection)	\$ 7,200
18 Stone-Plaster Painted Images to hold horses	2,300
27 Cast-Iron Animals for Lawn Decoration; Bison, Elk, Moose, Arabian Stallion, Mastiff Dogs	3,750
14 Marble Statues for Lawn Decoration; Queen Victoria, Pocahontas, Marie Antoinette, Expiring Swiss Bear	1,967
7 Sets, Left-Handed Moustache Cups, Coffee Size; Decorated with Presidents of United States, Washington to Lincoln	2,340
1 Gross, Shaving Mugs, Decorated with Game Birds of North America	1,000

1 Gross, Shaving Mugs, Decorated with Game Animals of North America	1,000
4 Dozen Silver Pushers, for Young Infants, Palmer Cox Pattern	648
8 Groups, Glass Flowers, Imported from Vienna	620
8000 Assorted Games and Puzzles (Period 1875-1885)	800
Total Sales	\$21,625
Transport and Commissions	1,460
Check Enclosed	\$20,165

Mattie insisted on Lydia's boy and his boss, Mr. Firenzo, splitting a thousand dollar note between them, and she has paid off the mortgage on my farm. I refused to accept any money at first, but it has allowed me to add a fieldstone chimney and fireplace on my hunting shack, up on Moosilauke. The weather is pretty sharp up there during the deer season.

But you mustn't let your imagination run loose. It may be that you are thinking that Mattie, having had her fling at store-keeping, and having finally got her fingers clamped upon a tidy bit of money, would settle down, and live like a lady should. If you are supposing that, you are wrong. You don't know Mattie. After the Gruber sale she tried to climb onto a shelf and retire, but she couldn't stick it. Not her. Keeping store is something like going to sea. Once a store-keeper, always a store-keeper. She liked having people drop in for a paper of pins and a whiff of news. She liked making change, jingling it in her hand and writing figures in a book. She liked to hear the bell strike over the door, and then to see people walking away, carrying what they wanted in their arms. She liked hearing new ways to cook canned salmon or to crochet an afghan.

Mattie hadn't no sooner disposed of her fixtures and rented her store than she fidgeted to be back at the old occupation of tending a shop.

If you'll take two steps toward me, and squint out the side window, you'll see a small green building, yonder, beyond the vacant lot. That's Mattie's store. She sells tobacco, ice cream, picture post cards, wool for knitting, tonic, and newspapers. Stocks some candy, too, only she gives that away mostly, to the young ones. She says she likes her actual line because there's no credit. She will never stock anything new or different. And at night she says she sleeps sound, with the cash box under the bed and the front door key under her pillow. That, says Mattie, is store-keeping like a lady should practice it.

NOTES ON EARLY VERMONT ARTISTS

By MARGARET T. SMALLEY

Very little has previously been done to unearth from the variety of sources where scraps of information can be found, something of the lives of Vermont artists of the past. Mrs. Smalley has done so, and we present here what will probably be a useful compilation of information about some little known craftsmen, as well about famous sons like Hiram Powers, Thomas Waterman Wood and Herbert Adams. Those listed were either born in Vermont, or did significant work here. A bibliography is appended, which will guide those interested to more extended material.

THE arts, when first practiced in Vermont, met with much disapproval in many families. It was considered foolhardy to take art as a career, when farming, or owning a hardware store were so much more practical. Most of the early artists had to work silently and "on the side," trying to improve work, which was considered nothing short of a waste of time. Some of the artists were even compelled to leave home. But to the true artist these jeers did not offend, for to them art was a medium through which they could best express themselves. Only a few received proper appreciation for being a native artist; consequently in our early records in Vermont, there is a deplorable lack of knowledge concerning the native artist and a nonchalant attitude toward this lack.

The American people for hundreds of years have been too busy studying the arts of the old masters to pay much attention to their own native artists. Many of the early artists went to France or to Italy to study, some to remain there while others who returned opened studios in the larger centers. However, all of whom we have records, still remained New Englanders or Vermonters, wherever they were.

The first known Vermont artist is Isaac Eddy who was born in Weathersfield, Vermont, in 1777. Eddy did copper engravings, seven of which were printed in the first edition of the Vermont Bible published in Windsor in 1812. These pictures, crude but real, were of the Holy Family, the apostles and the disciples. One of the most carefully

done, that of St. John, is reproduced in the portfolio. The broadside (page 148), hitherto unknown, is quite a contrast.

Zedekiah Belknap, son of Zedekiah and Elizabeth (Wait) Belknap, was also from Weathersfield, born on March 8, 1781 at Ward, now Auburn, Maine and died June 8, 1858, age 77. Belknap was a Dartmouth graduate in 1807. He studied in the Medical School for a very short time, then he became interested in divinity and preached a few years but was never ordained. We have here a man who was not afraid of his ability and evidently was not discouraged at home. He showed an early desire to paint and had much talent as a portrait painter. Four of his portraits are outstanding: "Father and Mother Smiley," "General Lewis Morris and Wife," "Dexter Allen and Wife," and "Charles Leland age 16."¹ Although Belknap spent some time in New York City, he lived most of his life on a farm in Vermont with his parents. Belknap was married to Sophia Sherwin of Maine in New York, "but feared to bring his wife back home to Weathersfield where she would see all his limping relatives. Finally she insisted on coming, saw the sights and was horrified and insisted on parting from him. He stayed there and did his painting with a broken heart, and later died in Weathersfield." Belknap's sister and family took care of him until his death. He was buried in a small cemetery on the farm of Augustus Aldrich. Daguerreotype was very much in vogue at this time, and Belknap was much concerned that it would take the place of painting.

The chief Vermont portrait painter of his day was Benjamin Franklin Mason, born in Pomfret, Vermont, on March 31, 1804, the son of Marshall and Polly Sessions Mason. His aptitude with various art mediums decided him on his career, much against his parents' wishes, and he was forced to leave his home. He received encouragement from his various teachers to continue his study in art. "At 14 the grateful boy proposed to his teacher to paint her portrait, as a recompense for the facility she had furnished him. The offer was accepted, but the favor was embarrassing. She was handsome and intelligent, he was bashful and young. But in painting he was her master, and his method was his own." Dana's *History of Woodstock* speaks of him as a "Person of some celebrity in his profession." He did not sign his work, but he had a style that was very distinctive and without a doubt there must be many unknown portraits in New England, for he had many commissions calling him over this area and New York. There is a portrait done by Mason

1. Reverend Raymond A. Beardslee of Springfield, Vermont has long been interested in Belknap and has located many of his portraits.



Hypocrite
craft

Designed and Engraved by J. B. Kelly

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

of Chief Justice Williams in the State Capitol at Montpelier; one of Judge Norman Williams in the courthouse at Woodstock; in the chapel at Middlebury College is a portrait of William Nash, its first president. Mason's boyhood friend was Crosby Miller. The artist never married, but a brother built a house in Woodstock where he lived and died.

On July 5, 1805 there was born one of Vermont's best known early sculptors and inventors, Hiram Powers, a native of Woodstock. His family was not wealthy, his father being a small farmer and "half" blacksmith, but the boy skillfully used the tools in his father's shop to carve toys. At fourteen he went to Ohio. Near Cincinnati his father bought a farm which was situated by a marsh, where his father contracted malarial fever and died. He left the farm to his son who was to take care of the family. Hiram did odd jobs, but he was often hungry and without proper clothes. At seventeen he took charge of a reading room in a hotel. During the evenings he worked for a produce dealer, opening firkins of butter. Using the butter as a medium, he modeled queer objects, such as snakes, and frogs, etc., then closed the firkins. You can well imagine the surprise of the dealers upon opening their firkins. This work did not last too long, in all probability, for we find him next working in a dime museum. The museum in those days was a money making scheme, more like our circus; it was filled with wax works. Powers made wax heads and hands and modeled many figures in clay. He made some figures that moved by clock works. His "Inferno" was so horrible it is said that many ladies fainted. He studied with Eckstein, a German or Prussian sculptor, who was employed by the museum to model busts. Eckstein taught Powers how to model in plaster. The latter had a knack at catching a likeness. He made a mechanical organ with six boys and six girls on each side, making the waxen heads and hands. Professor Locke gave him the proper proportion for the composition of wax, and the likeness he copied from living children.

Nicholas Longworth, forerunner of Burbank and later a patron also of Larkin Mead, was attracted by his wax figures. As a result of this acquaintance Powers, in 1835, left the Museum D'Orfeuille for Washington where he stayed for two years, during which time he modeled President Jackson. In 1837 he left for Italy backed by two people with desire and means to help — Mr. Longworth, aforementioned, and Mrs. Trollope, an English novel writer. Mrs. Trollope and her sons, who were famous novelists, spread Powers' fame and pushed his fortunes. He made busts of everybody. "In these he surpasses

his predecessors of every age" say American critics of 1845. Today a bust by him is as prized as a portrait would be by Van Dyke.

Powers was twenty-five years old before he saw a marble statue; it was Canova's "Washington" in the city of Cincinnati. In Italy he could choose the marble with which to work. He invented many of the tools with which he worked; one with which he depicted skin was especially noteworthy. His Italian career began in a two-room apartment in the basement of an old convent in Florence. Later he moved into a Villa with a studio and workshop where he died in 1873. He was well known in England. The "Greek Slave" in the Corcoran Gallery is well known as one of his best pieces. Miss Spooner says, "It is as beautiful as Venus de Milo and would be held in as great reverence if it had been buried for a few hundred years as was the famous antique."

Aaron Dean Fletcher, born on September 15, 1817, in Springfield, Vermont, was an uncle of Henry and Charles Fletcher. He was musical as well as being gifted in painting. He made his own canvas and paints. He painted numerous portraits in town and a landscape of the old Fletcher home. He was unmarried and died in Keeseville, New York.

James Hope was born in Drygrange, Roxborough Shire, Scotland on November 29, 1818. When he was 13 years old, upon the death of his mother, he moved to Canada with his father. At the age of 15, James came to the United States, making his home in Fairhaven, Vermont. He spent a year at the Seminary at Castleton, later teaching school in West Rutland. In 1843 he became a professional artist in West Rutland. Hope spent two years in Montreal as a portrait painter. Upon his return to Rutland he painted numerous landscapes. In later years he maintained a home in Castleton and a studio in New York City. His paintings were considered very valuable and quite different from many artists, selling for large sums of money while he was yet living. The "Army of the Potomac," at Cumberland Landing, sold for around \$20,000. In 1872 he did his best landscapes, notable among which is "Rainbow Falls" which was sold to a Gallery in New York for \$10,000.

From 1818 to 1824 came James Guild, a Tunbridge itinerant painter, whose letters are treasured today. He travelled everywhere on foot, house to house, painting portraits. Eventually he sailed to London and won renown there as a portrait painter.

The following citation is taken from "The Journal of James Guild." "I put up at a tavern and told a Young Lady if she would wash my

shirt, I would draw her likeness. Now then I was to exert my skill in painting. I operated once on her but it looked so like a rech I threwed it away and tried again. The poor Girl sat niped up so prim and look so smileing it makes me smile when I think of while I was daubing on paint on a piece of paper, it could not be caled painting, for it looked more like a strangle cut than it did like her. However I told her it looked like her and she believed it, but I cut her profile and she had a profile if not a likeness."

Horace Bundy appears about the same time, 1818. He was an Advent preacher in No. Springfield, where he painted both portraits and landscapes. He made portraits of C. A. Leland and Mary Keyes. His son and namesake followed in his footsteps, using the camera instead of the brush, and taking artistic portraits. He was the man to introduce certain coloring in photographs which proved very effective. He died in 1893.

Alban Jasper Conant was born in Chelsea, September 24, 1821, the son of Caleb and Sally (Barnes) Conant. The family early moved to northern New York. Alban's home was in Troy, New York, from 1844, and in St. Louis, Missouri, from 1857. In 1881 he removed to New York City where he died in 1915. He was a portrait painter and naturalist. He painted portraits of prominent men in the time of the Civil War. His likeness of President Lincoln is known as "The Smiling Lincoln," and is said to be the only picture which portrays him with a smile.

"A blend of mirth and sadness, smiles and tears
A quaint Knight-errant of the pioneers
A homely hero born of star and sod
A peasant prince; a masterpiece of God."

—*Walter Malone.*

The Chelsea Public Library has a copy of this portrait and a picture of Conant beside his easel. The Metropolitan Museum has one of his pictures. In addition to his art, he experimented with many scientific activities while living in Missouri.

A large heroic statue of Ethan Allen, once exhibited at the Harrington Block on College Street in Burlington, Vermont, was executed by Benjamin Harris Kinney. Kinney said of the statue: "This is the first statue ever sculptured in Vermont and I believe the largest one ever seen in America." It was said by contemporaries of Allen that the statue

was well done and a good likeness of him. The Allen boys lived to the West down in the valley from Sunderland where Kinney lived and they were neighbors of his. In Burlington a statue was created out of the many stories of the spirit of Ethan Allen. The State was interested in purchasing this statue for the Capitol and it was for the Capitol that it was made, but when it was completed it was not accepted. It is thought that the price of \$3,000 for the statue was considered an impractical buy, rather than that dissatisfaction kept them from accepting it. Kinney was greatly disappointed and some have thought that to be the reason he left Vermont to live in Worcester, Mass. He was born in Peru, Mass. on February 7, 1821 and died December 18, 1888, being buried at Spencer, Mass., a suburb of Worcester. His childhood and youth were spent at Sunderland. Kinney is best known for his cutting of cameos and medallions.

Thomas Waterman Wood is Montpelier's immortal artist, where a museum bears his name. He was born November 12, 1823 and died April 14, 1903. He was first attracted to painting by a daguerreotype artist. When his boy friend, John C. Badger, brought from Boston tubes of paints, brushes, etc., Wood began a career which later made him a foremost portrait painter. Later he went to the studio of Chester Harding, a portrait painter of Boston. Wood married Minerva Robinson of Waterbury. In 1850 they built a home on the Northfield Road, named "Athenwood." Eight years later he made his first European visit, visiting London, Rome, Paris, and Florence. He stayed abroad for two years. He was known as an excellent copyist, Rembrandt being his favorite master. Upon his return he painted portraits in Nashville and Louisville. In 1866 he opened a studio in New York City, where he was President of the National Academy of Design for eight years. "The Yankee Pedlar," is owned by a private family in Calais. "The Country Doctor" is simple and strong in composition. His works are chiefly concentrated in the gallery named in his honor, though other examples are in the Metropolitan Museum and the Vermont Historical Society.

Mrs. Ruth Payne Jewett Burgess of Montpelier painted with Wood and in his manner. She was Ex-President of the Art Student League.

William Morris Hunt was born March 31, 1824 at Brattleboro, Vermont, later living in Weathersfield. He died in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 8, 1879. His first lessons in art were from Miss Amelia S. Tyler, Miss Tyler being known for her patchwork quilt. In 1832 he went to New Haven for superior schools. When he was only ten years old he studied with Signor Gambadella, making crayon

studies. At twelve years of age he cut heads from marble, as well as from a hard yellowish substance out of the bleaching vats at Lowell. The years 1843-1844 were spent in Rome, studying drawing and sculpturing. He entered Dusseldorf Academy to study sculpture in 1845. He didn't like the style, and upon seeing Thomas Couture's painting decided to be a painter, studying with Couture in Paris. From there he went to Holland, where he copied the old masters, especially Rembrandt.

He painted both portraits and landscapes, although he is best known for the former. That of Chief Justice Shaw is his best known. It was not until 1872 that he began to do landscape painting. He made a trip to Mexico in 1875. Later he visited Niagara and painted his famous picture of the Falls which was sold for \$10,000 a short time after his death. He had a commission to paint a mural for the Capitol in Albany depicting the Story of Columbus. The feeling in New York and Boston was against him and he was often discouraged. He was not able to finish at Harvard because of his health. He went to Florida where he died of tuberculosis.

The world owes much to William Morris Hunt for it was he who discovered Millet's genius. He bought many of the latter's pictures because of their impressiveness and vigor of treatment, but in 1872, the Boston Fire destroyed Hunt's studio and with it many of Millet's originals and choicest works. There are few of his works available today, in fact only two or three hundred in existence now. He is the only Vermonter whose name is enrolled in the Hall of Fame. His father was Congressman Jonathan Hunt and he was a grandson of a lieutenant-governor. His brother was Richard Morris Hunt, the well known architect for the Tribune Building in New York, two buildings at West Point, the Lenox Library in New York, the Fogg Museum at Harvard, Homes of Vanderbilt and Astors in New York.

Hunt was very sensitive not to ruffle the feelings of others, yet he had, perhaps, the one fault of being over-absorbed in art, and it might be added in fine horses. He brought the refined taste of the wealthy, intellectual cosmopolitan back to America. Never much more than an aristocratic amateur, he said at the end of his career, "In another country, I might have been a painter."

Ferrisburgh has produced a draughtsman, cartoonist and writer in Rowland Evans Robinson, born in 1833. Some of his sketches may be found in Leslie's *Harper's Bazaar*. In 1893 he became totally blind, whereupon he devoted his time to his writing. He died in 1900. His

daughter, Rachel Robinson Elmer, born in 1864, was well known for her illustrations in the *Youth's Companion* and for many book cover designs. She was commissioned by a New York House to make twelve water colors for post cards of New York City. She illustrated two well known stories: "John Bunyan's Dream Story" and "The Dutch Fairy Tales." She died February 12, 1919. Another daughter, Mary Robinson Perkins, has made great contributions to the art world with her illustrations and flowers for botanical uses.

Larkin G. Mead, Jr., who was born January 3, 1835 at Chesterfield, N. H., moved to Brattleboro in 1839. He was a most modest person, retiring and bashful. He tried being a hardware merchant but gave it up for his art. His drawings were natural. One of the first pieces he ever made was a pig done in marble. He had a studio in the Old Town Hall Building where he conducted a drawing school. In December, 1856, assisted by Edward and Henry Burnham, he constructed an image in snow which he called "Recording Angel." This work was done during the evening, and when men going to work the next morning passed, they were amazed. The weather remained favorable and it was not long before people who were interested came down from New York to see this. The account of a noted citizen was: "As morning dawned, there, at a fork of the two principal streets of the village, stood an image, bright in the rays of the morning sun, and brighter still with the magic light of genius. The mischievous boy stood appalled by the unwonted sight; it was surely no idle work for him to cast his snowballs at. A noted simpleton of the village, after looking at it for a moment, ran away from it in fear and alarm, and a man who rarely ever before made a bow, raised his hat in respect." Nicholas Longworth wanted a duplicate in marble of this image and many commissions were forthcoming. Mead saw service at the front in the Civil War as an artist for Harper's Weekly. In the consulate office he went to Italy and was welcomed by his colleague, Hiram Powers. There he met and married an Italian, Marietta de Benvenuti, in Florence, Italy. It was love at first sight and both language and religion were soon overcome. He brought his bride to Vermont in 1866. The last visit he made to Brattleboro was in 1907. He died in 1910. His best known work, the "Statue of Ethan Allen" is at the State House in Montpelier and he also made the original colossal statue of Ceres on the dome. "Lincoln" in Springfield, and "America," the soldier monument in St. Johnsbury, are also good examples of his work. His bust of William Czar Bradley stands in the museum of the Vermont Historical Society. He was Professor of the

Academy of Fine Arts in Florence in 1879. His brother was the famous architect Wm. R. Mead.

A drummer boy with the Union Army was Julian Scott, born in Johnson, February 14, 1846. He made many studies of field and hospital life. His best works are "Rear Guard at White Oak Swamp" which is in the Union League Club in New York, and the immense "The Battle of Cedar Creek," which is in the Vermont State House. He died in New York City in 1901.

Leslie Wm. Tobin born in Brattleboro in 1848 was a teacher and lecturer of art. A man named Miller from Brattleboro born in 1848 was also an artist, but little is known of him. Wm. Baxter Palmer Closson, who was born in Thetford, October 13, 1848, was a wood engraver, as well as a painter in pastels and oils. There are some of his pictures in several galleries in New York City. He died in 1926.

Theodore Robinson, born in Irasburg in 1852, acquired the impressionistic manner of painting from living abroad and studying from Claude Monet. He painted both indoors and outdoors. He won both the Shaw prize and the Webb prize. Perhaps his best known is "The Red Gown," shown at the Macbeth Galleries.

The oldest son of Major Hardie, Robert Gordon, Jr., was born in Brattleboro, March 20, 1854. He made many caricatures as a boy. He studied both at Coopers Union with Gerome, and at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, the pupil of Cabanel. He was married twice and left one son. His best known portraits are: "President Eliot" of Harvard, "Senator Proctor" and "Governor Levi K. Fuller." He died in 1904.

There were three painter-Picknells. The Reverend W. L. Picknell came to No. Springfield in 1857, with a wife and son of two years, William, Jr. Four years later another son, George, was born. The Reverend was a pastor until his death in 1867. Of his work in art we only know that he was interested, and did some work. William, Jr., who was born in Hinesburg in 1854 and who died at Marblehead in 1897, was aided by an uncle, Daniel S. Ford of Boston. At the age of eighteen he went to Italy where he studied with George Inness at Rome for two years and lived in his home. He attended the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris for two or three years. When he was at Port Aven where he worked for four or five years, he sent his first paintings to the Paris Salon. "The Route de Corcorreau" received honorable mention and thus established his reputation. This picture is now owned by the Corcoran Gallery. He studied with Gerome and Robert Wylie in Brittany, and was a member of the Society of British Painters, for he lived

in England for some years. "The River Samoa" and "Bleak December" are at the Metropolitan Museum. He was given a bronze medal made by St. Gaudens. George Picknell was not so brilliant a painter. He too studied in Paris, and exhibited at the Salon. He did mostly illustrations. He had William's sense of color and composition, but less strength and originality.

Herbert Adams, born at Concord, Vermont, on January 28, 1858, received his early education in Fitchburg, Mass. After his graduation from the Mass. Normal Art School, he went to Paris and studied with Mercie, staying from 1885 to 1890. He returned to the United States and taught at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, for eight years. He exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1904, and in 1915 was awarded a medal of honor at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. His "Nymph of Fynmere" won the Watrous Gold Medal of the National Academy of Design in 1916. He has done a number of notable doors for prominent institutions, among them the Library of Congress, the Mariners' Museum, and the American Academy of Arts and Letters. He is best known in this country, however, for his monumental statues, such as "William Cullen Bryant" in New York, and "William Ellery Channing" in Boston. In a different vein, the "Girl with Water Lilies" shows a clever handling of mass of light and dark, creating something beyond common vision. He has been both a member and officer of many art organizations, and is the recipient of honorary degrees from Yale and Tufts.

Edward Martin Taber was born in Staten Island July 21, 1863, but came to Vermont because of his health. His parents built the "Four Winds" in Stowe where he showed unconquerable courage in the face of personal tragedy. He painted "Mountains of canvases," but he painted in words as much as in oils. His "Stowe Notes," which his sister, Florence T. Holt published, is a description of natural life with paintings: lovely illustrations on Japanese paper.

Harvey Custer Ingham was born in Cazenovia, N.Y., in 1865. His father was serving in the Civil War at the time. In 1870 the family moved to Vergennes. Ingham studied at the Academy of Design in New York City and abroad. The First World War interrupted his study abroad. He was, primarily, a landscape painter. He was so very retiring and modest that few of his paintings were ever exhibited, although his work could have demanded much public praise. Mrs. S. R. Benton of Vergennes has many of his paintings. The Bixby Memorial Free Library in Vergennes also has some of his oils, one being of the

donor of the Library, done from memory. Mr. Bixby refused to have any photograph taken of him, and it is said that Ingham's portrait is a good likeness.

Charles Peabody, born in 1867, was an archeologist who later moved to Cambridge, Mass.

S. K. Burbank of Pittsford was not professional but painted in his leisure moments. At first he illustrated lessons for his Sunday School Class, later in connection with readings which he gave. He used French pastels on special paper or board, first sketched in charcoal then blended; he used a dry point, and rubbed it in.

Edward Child was born in Gouverneur, New York in 1869 and died in 1937. He was the son of Reverend Jonathan Bush Child and Sarah Burnham Child. He lived in Pawtucket, R. I. and moved when he was eleven years old to Ludlow, Vermont, where his father was pastor of the Baptist Church, then later to Amherst, Mass., where he graduated from the college in 1880. He married Anna Gertrude Sykes of Dorset, September 18, 1894. He named his house at Dorset "Two Barns" and lived there most of his life, though he did some work in and out of New York City.

He first became interested in art at the age of fifteen and was encouraged by Margaret C. Whiting of Deerfield. At Amherst he made charcoal sketches to add to his scanty allowance. As a student he assisted John La Farge in art glass work and mural decorative painting. He was an illustrator for some magazines for a time, and gave lectures on art at Amherst during 1934-1935. He painted both landscapes and portraits. His landscapes varied in style and manner of treatment; his portraits were realistic and usually intimate. Among the finest are those of John Dewey, Dwight Morrow, and Wm. L. Harkness. His hobby was restoring colonial houses and collecting furniture. It was he who discovered John Lillie of Dorset, the "Mountain Painter." The National Gallery broke all precedents by inviting him to hold its first one man show in 1930 and again in 1936. Paintings are to be found in the Wood Memorial Gallery at Montpelier, the National Life Insurance Co., and many other places.

There is democracy in art, it is part of the life of the people of the state. Artists in Vermont reveal a sound understanding of the qualities of the Vermont landscape and its people. They are a rugged people, friendly, conservative, thrifty, and practical. They are lovers of beauty and lovers of freedom.

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First Vermont Edition



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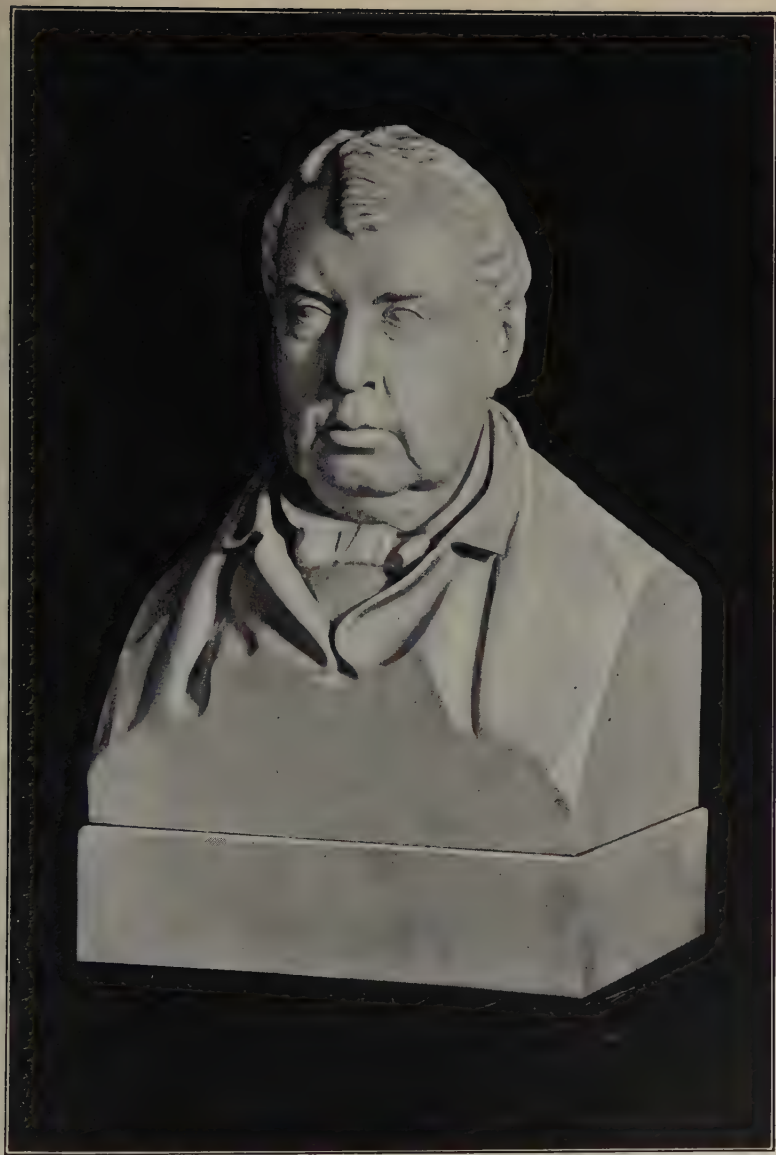
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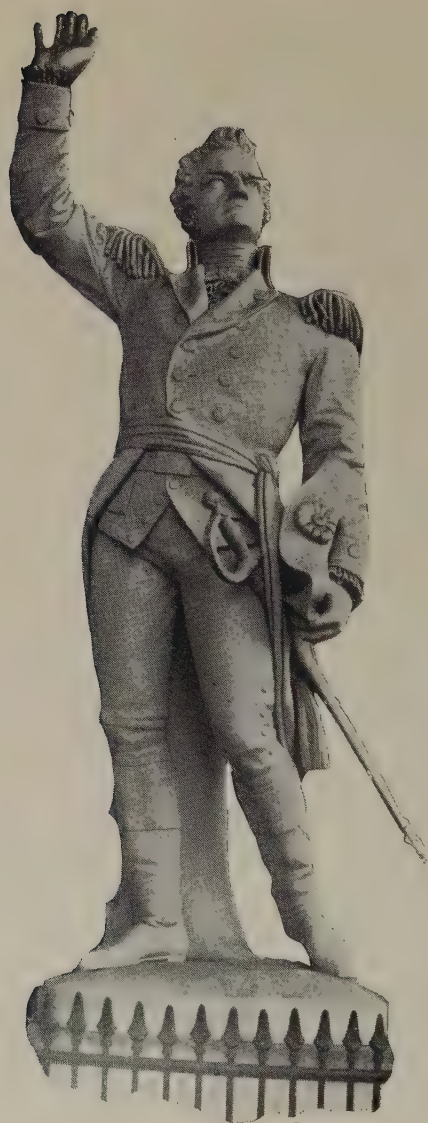
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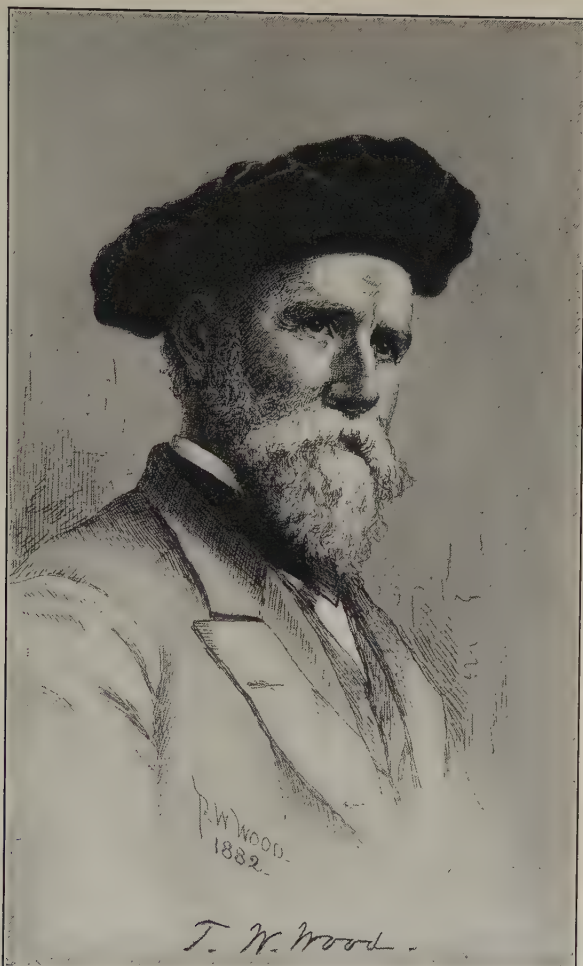
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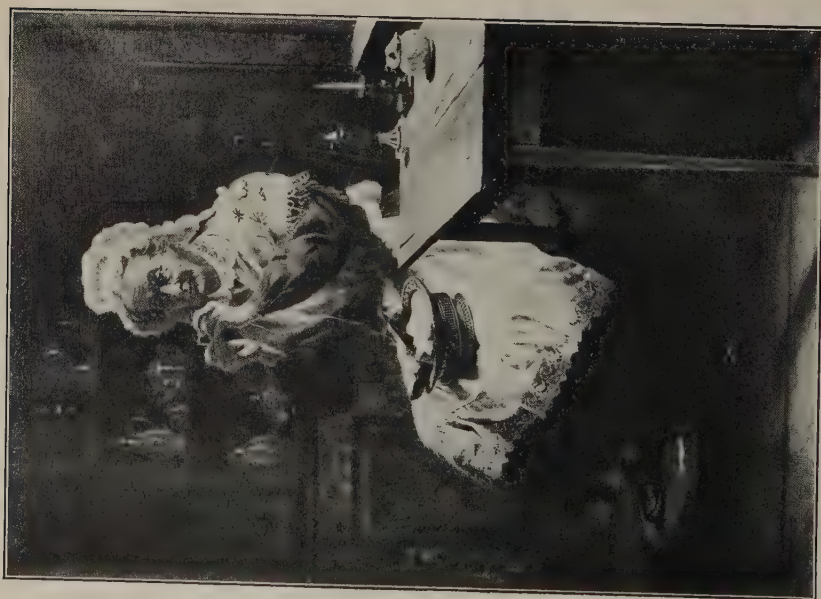
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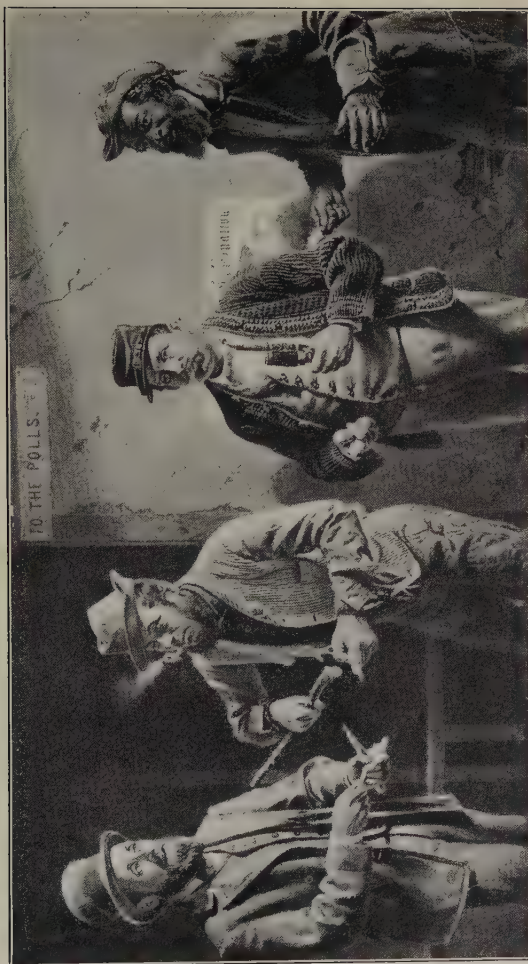
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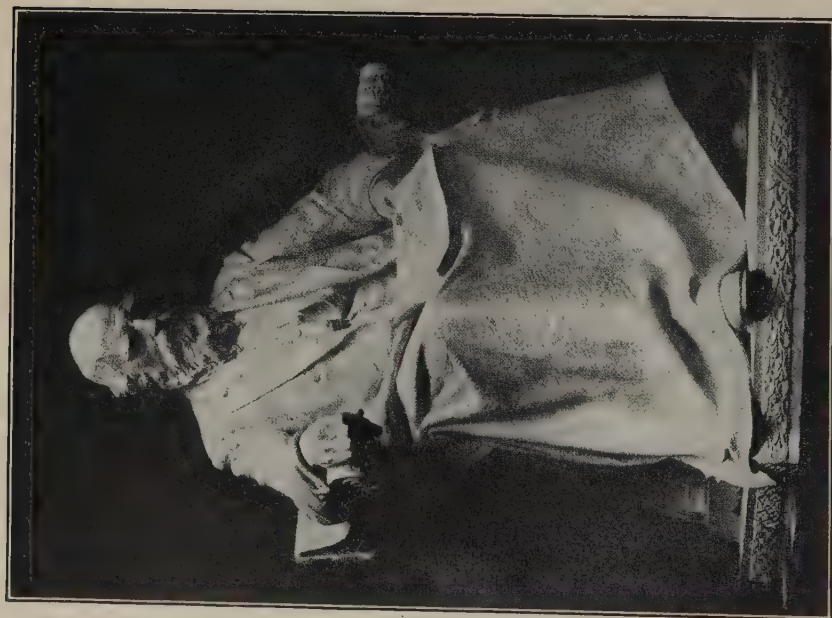
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AMERICAN CITIZENS

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Bryant Park, NYC

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

Herbert Adams



Coopersstown

NYMPH OF FYNMERE

Herbert Adams

BEGINNINGS OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN VERMONT

By JOHN C. HUDEN

THE first educational services in Vermont were performed by kindly French priests in the Champlain valley region prior to 1759. From the time of Samuel de Champlain's visit in 1609 until Montcalm's death some 150 years later, the French were the only permanent settlers¹ in the territory now embraced by our Western tiers of towns. Between 1731 and 1759 there probably were from 600 to 800 people in Fort St. Frederic (just across the lake from Addison) and others probably lived in outposts on the Vermont side. The available records do not give any hint of public schools in these French settlements; neither Kalm² or Melleur³ make any reference to secular instruction, hence it is apparent that any instruction received by the children must have come from priests or parents. That there were children is well established as the parish records⁴ list 243 baptisms in the two decades subsequent to 1739.

Captain John Vincent, a Cahnawaga scout who had fought under Generals Gates, Montgomery, and Washington applied for a pension⁵ in October, 1804. Captain John received his early education in the French language from a Roman Catholic priest, and apparently was converted to the faith as he always said his orisons, vespers and graces.⁶ Since Captain John was 73 when he petitioned the Assembly in 1804, he probably received his education before 1755, the year in which he campaigned with Braddock. This was well within the time of the French occupancy of the Champlain Seigneuries.

After the expulsion of the French in the campaigns of 1759-1760

1. Guy Omeron Coolidge, "The French in the Champlain Valley," *Proceedings of Vermont Historical Society*, vol. VI, no. 3, new series, Sept. 1938, p. 251.

2. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1772.

3. J. B. Melleur, *Memoir de L'Education du Bas-Canada*, Montreal, 1860.

4. Coolidge, *op. cit.*

5. *Assembly Journal*, Oct. 29, 1804, p. 195.

6. *Governor and Council*, vol. V, p. 26; also in Spooner's *Vermont Journal*, July 23, 1810.

very little is known of any Roman Catholic educational endeavors in Vermont until about 1815 when several priests and Bishop Fenwick made missionary visits to the Green Mountain State.⁷ It is probable that only religious education was attempted by these good men, as no record of any secular instruction on their part has been discovered.

There is considerable speculation as to when the first Catholic school in Vermont was established. Some years before the advent of the saintly Bishop Louis de Goesbriand in 1853 a school had been opened in Burlington by the aged Father O'Callaghan. One of the pupils admitted, the scholarly John S. Michaud,⁸ was destined to become the second Bishop of the Diocese of Burlington.

An entry in Bishop de Goesbriand's diary⁹ tells of Father O'Callaghan's benevolence and confirms the belief that a Catholic school existed in Burlington prior to the establishment of the Diocese: "St. Mary's Burlington Nov. 17, 1853 — The Rev. Father O'Callaghan expressed a desire to retire altogether from Holy Ministry, and live privately which is granted. Says there is due him on the first church \$300 on the addition \$2,800 which he intends to claim in case he needs it. Offers to deed the school house bought of his own money immediately to the Bishop, if I establish a good school." As Father O'Callaghan had labored since 1830 as Vermont's first permanent Catholic pastor,¹⁰ he had earned his rest.

In 1846 there were only two regularly installed parish priests in Vermont, Father O'Callaghan and the Rev. John B. Daly. The former ministered to Burlington and Montpelier; the latter had charge of Middlebury, Castleton, Pittsford and Bennington.¹¹ There is no mention of any parochial school in the documents describing the labors of these pioneer priests. In 1853 the Diocese of Burlington was established and Louis de Goesbriand was named as its first Bishop; prior to that date Vermont was part of the Diocese of Boston.¹² The new bishop found a well organized nucleus¹³ of eight churches and five priests, but the need for schools was apparent.

7. R. H. Clarke, *Illustrated History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 1892, p. 28.

8. Carleton, *State of Vermont, Biographical Sketches*, vol. I, p. 123.

9. Typescript copy of Bishop de Goesbriand's diary, in the library of St. Michael's College, Winooski Park, Vermont.

10. Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

11. *Catholic Almanac*, 1846.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

It is told¹⁴ that on the occasion of Bishop de Goesbriand's visit to the Pope in 1867, the Pontiff asked when the Bishop planned to return to Vermont. "In about a month" came the reply. "How many schools do you have in your diocese?" then asked the Vicar of Christ. Upon being told the number, the Pope declared "You had better take the boat leaving tomorrow, and start as soon as possible to build some parochial schools in Vermont."

Under Bishop de Goesbriand's vigorous leadership many Catholic schools were established before his retirement in 1892. Among the first were Michael Mulqueen's select school which occupied the site of the present St. Patrick's Chapel in Burlington. In 1856 Mr. Mulqueen, a young man from Limerick, Ireland, opened the front room of his home to several boys. Among his pupils were the future Fathers Andrew Barron, John McLaughlin, Daniel and William O'Sullivan and John Stephen Michaud. Mulqueen's Jesuit training was reflected in his strict discipline, rare scholarship and personal kindness. After his death his school was taken over by the Sisters of Mercy.¹⁵

The story of Vermont's first Catholic schools when fully told will include many references to personal service, personal sacrifice and benevolent gifts on the part of interested priests and laymen. Such was the case in Swanton, where in 1857 Father Lionnet¹⁶ began the work which resulted in Father Cam's success of 1858. Swanton's next parochial school was built in 1873 due to the zeal of Father Cam and the interest of Bishop Rappe. When Mgr. Rappe was bishop in Cleveland, Ohio, an American layman gave him some shares in a silver mine on Lake Superior. For several years these almost-forgotten certificates increased in value, until finally in 1872 the bishop was pleasantly surprised to learn that his shares and their accumulated dividends had attained considerable worth. With this money Bishop Rappe built¹⁷ chapels and schools, and performed other acts of charity among French-Canadians in Enosburg, Swanton, Alburg, Isle La Motte and other

14. Anecdote related by Rev. V. B. Maloney, Librarian at St. Michael's College, Winooski Park, Vermont.

15. Vincent A. Alden, "Many Burlingtonians Took Pride — Educated under Michael Mulqueen," *Burlington Free Press*, circa Oct. 1941.

16. "History of St. Ann's Academy in Swanton," *Swanton Courier*, Nov. 12, 1942.

17. E. Hamon, S.J., *Les Canadiens Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre*, Quebec, 1891.

parishes. He planned to do more but his good works were cut off by death in 1877.

"The difficulties in the beginning were many, and the poverty extreme; nevertheless the kind donations of worthy benefactors helped the work along." This item culled from Swanton's¹⁸ experience may well be applied to the beginnings of Catholic education in Vergennes and other Vermont towns. "Father Campeau's private means were the major source of maintenance as the income from the parish was necessarily limited." In 1866 Father Campeau purchased land; two decades later a building was dedicated to use as a school and convent.¹⁹

In Rutland, too, we find humble beginnings. Bishop Michaud wrote late in life²⁰ "The first parochial school (in Rutland) was opened in a house on West Street with one teacher and about fifty pupils, this was in 1857. The school was continued without interruption until 1905 when the old building became too small for its purpose." From the original 50 students in the little school on West Street has grown a fine parochial system including St. Peter's, Christ the King, and Mount Saint Joseph's schools, enrolling a total of about 1,400 students.

From Bishop de Goesbriand's diary²¹ we learn also that in 1871 Catholic schools had been opened in Fair Haven and in Ely. In connection with the former, the Bishop mentioned French-Canadians; at Ely, however, "There are here only about 20 Irish families but they contributed most nobly toward their neat church building." (These sons of Eire worked in the copper mines recently reexamined by geologists in connection with the Strafford prospecting.)

On October 10, 1869 Bishop de Goesbriand wrote in Burlington,²² "I blest the School house built for the Canadians by Miss Tellier." The works of this fine Christian woman, as well as the achievements of the Sisters of Providence, the Ladies of Nazareth, the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, the Sisters of Mercy, the Sisters of St. Joseph, the Sisters of the Holy Ghost, the Hospitallers of St. Joseph, and the Sisters of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary all deserve a more complete discussion than this paper can afford. The story of the

18. *Historical Sketch of Catholic Church in Swanton*, 1899, p. 25; also Swanton Souvenir *Historical Sketch*, 175th Anniversary, 1938.

19. Vergennes *Enterprise and Vermonter*, Nov. 18, 1932.

20. Walter Moore, "Catholic Rutland," Mss. in St. Michael's College Library, Winooski Park, Vermont.

21. Typescript copy, *op. cit.*, note 9 *supra*, pp. 60, 62.

22. *Ibid.*

Ladies of Nazareth²³ (who left Burlington only a few months ago) embraces a span of eighty years. It is hoped that this brief mention of early Catholic education in Vermont will stimulate further research on a most important and most interesting phase of local history.

23. Burlington *Free Press*, May 31, 1943.

NARRATIVE OF RICHARD LEE

Conclusion

I return to make some general observations on my life, under my religious profession. As I was brought into the kingdom of grace (as I trust) praying openly as well as secretly, and exhorting in public and in private, concerning the kingdom of our Lord, my soul rested in peace as a reward of obedience to Jesus Christ. But shunning the doctrine of the cross, seeking ease to the flesh, and pleasing the world, I fell into darkness, poverty of mind, stupidity and death, which caused me sorrow and bitter reflections on myself. But it pleased God not wholly to forsake me; but while I ruminated on my dropping public speaking, praying and exhortation, it looked like unfaithfulness and ingratitude, neither could my mind be answered before God in neglecting of it as duty: for it was not the great knowledge I was depriving the world of, that caused me pain, but neglecting to hold up the light which God had opened my eyes to behold, even the glory of God's free grace, which all by nature refuse, and many to their eternal destruction. And this light in me pressed upon my spirits, out of love to God and to their poor souls, to *warn them to flee from the wrath to come*. But while I thought thereon a thousand excuses would arise, against my going forward in duty: — You are poor, in debt, ignorant, and your family will suffer, and bring a reproach on the cause of God. Can it be that the Lord calls such a poor, ignorant unlearned creature as I to labor publicly in his vineyard? Lord what shall I do? was my cry. The answer was at hand: Do your duty and trust in the Lord: that is the way to honor God, find peace in your conscience, and pay your debts. Neither was I left without a joyful hope that the Lord would help me in my path of duty, for *in keeping his commands there is great reward*.

I desire to bless God for enabling me once more to devote myself and all I have to his service; desiring to spend the remainder of my short life, for the glory of God and the good of souls. Lord here am I, send me where thou pleasest, and use me as seemeth good in thy sight, only be with me, and make me willing and obedient at all times.

O my God, I pray for Jesus' sake, that thou wouldst bless these

few lines, which are written in much weakness, for the good of souls: May they be like the rams' horns which were blown in obedience to thy command, until the walls of Jericho fell: even so, O Lord, let the walls of mystical Jericho fall. May the traditions of men which agree not with thy word be laid aside — and enable us all to search the scriptures that we may clearly see what thy will in all things is.

O Lord God of my master Abraham! on thee my hopes depend. O that thou wouldst still be the guide to the youth, a stay to the aged, and eyes to the blind, and ears to the deaf, as food to the hungry, as water to the thirsty: a comfort to those who mourn; a physician to the sick; as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. I know all things are possible with God: and that thou canst use this little book for the same purpose as thou didst the clay and spittle.

I was one day talking to a bad boy for his disobedience, and telling him the bad effects thereof; that if he persisted in his disobedience and obstinacy, every body would hate him and besides this he must have a guilty conscience, which would render him very unhappy. But if he was obedient, and attentive to his duty, every body would respect him, and this would render his situation pleasant and happy. As I thus addressed myself to the boy, my attention was suddenly arrested with these words, "Physician heal thyself." It seemed as if the words were spoken with an audible voice. O thought I, what meaneth this? I seemed to be questioned thus — Have you not been living in disobedience to God a great while, in refusing to perform those services which he required. This led me to a view of the awful sin of disobedience, and that I had been bringing all these troubles and trials upon myself by my disobedience, and yet had been murmuring against the good hand of God, as the children of Israel did while in the wilderness. I was led to a view of the distressed situation of Jonah, in consequence of his disobedience. I was then led to a view of the disobedience of Adam, and its awful effects, and to the rebellion or disobedience of the fallen angels, and the consequence thereof. Thus being led to reflect with uncommon solemnity on those cases, I felt a very sensible conviction upon my mind that the Lord required me to improve the gift he had given me to speak in his name wheresoever a door might be opened in the kingdom of his providence, for that purpose; and I think that I feel the approbation of God's spirit and the testimony of a good conscience, that I am practising in the line of my duty towards God, and my own soul, and the souls of my fellow men.

In the year of our Lord 1802 on the 12th day of May, the Lord took my second wife out of this transitory world but I hope to a better one after which I returned to Springfield, in Vermont, where I had formerly lived about three years, in order to reside with my children who lived there. And being poor, and in debt, I undertook to carry out pewter and brass ware to sell, for my oldest son, for a while. After which I set out for the eastward, and expected to have been gone about three weeks; but the Lord had ordered it otherwise, as I hope, for the better, so that I was gone nineteen weeks, and never heard from my children during the whole time of my absence. And sometimes I thought I never should get home again, for there was a great deal of goodly work of reformation in a number of towns round about in those parts; and the Lord was pleased to open a large number of doors, in different towns, for even the weakest talents to improve; and that to my great astonishment, so that I found full employment, both early and late, during the whole of the nineteen weeks. And the Lord was pleased to bless my weak labours, and earnest desires of love, that glowed with fervency in my heart towards my fellow mortals, and to answer the requests of my prayers for the eternal welfare of immortal souls.

It was with trials and much difficulty that I could get home, for many of the brethren and friends thought it would be all for the best that I should keep travelling all my time as a missionary, which I should have been perfectly willing with all my heart and the desires of my soul to have done the remainder of my life, had I been free from debt, and able to furnish myself with a horse and clothing, and wherewith to defray my necessary expenses on the road while travelling. But I am in debt; and it is my full belief that it is the duty of every man to pay his debts, and to support his family; for St. Paul says, "he that provideth not for his own house, denieth the faith and is worse than an infidel."

I have thought a great many times that, were I free from debt, I should be perfectly willing to spend and to be spent wholly in so good a cause, were I to fare ever so hard for food and lodging, for it is my meat and drink, my life and happiness and my soul's delight. Ah, it is far sweeter to my soul than the most delicious food or drink that ever I tasted. And O, how often does my soul lament and mourn my folly, that I ever shrunk from the cross, since Christ in his blessed gospel hath declared to us, that there is no other way whereby we can be happy, only by bearing the cross day by day; when our Saviour was

so willing even to die on the cross, that we might be brought to life by the virtue of the same; or in other words by being renewed by his holy spirit, or by being born again, and thereby be enabled to deny ourselves and take up our cross daily, and follow him through good and evil report. In so doing there is a great reward; a sure promise of an hundred fold in this world, and life everlasting in that which is to come.

I shall now revert back to the time when I was at the eastward, as before mentioned.

In the time of the reformation, while I was there, there were two certain men that were very much enraged, and often wished me dead, because I was an unlearned baptist and held meetings in their minister's parish, as they called it. And they thought it a great crime, for they believed that no one had any right to preach except those who had college learning. I was informed by a number of their congregational brethren that their ministers had a salary of seven or eight hundred dollars a year for preaching, together with a good settlement. That their ministers but very seldom visited any of the poor brethren; and whenever they did, they hardly ever said any thing respecting religion, or of those things that concern their immortal souls: but their whole conversation was about their farms, their merchandize, and the common avocations of life: and those that were very poor they never visited at all. And that their ministers told the people that it was a very wrong thing for preachers to spend more than one day in seven for public worship. I then asked them how it happened that our Saviour came to make such a gross mistake, for he was with his disciples three days at a time. But, however, the Lord was pleased to bless my labours of love and concern for their poor souls in a very remarkable manner.

The next Sunday, I recollect, after the great snow storm on the ninth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1804, I held a meeting in a large dwelling house down near the sea side where had assembled a goodly number of people. And as the blessed Lord was pleased to send one of my most embittered enemies into the meeting, and as he was pleased also to send an arrow of conviction into his hard heart, as likewise into a number of others, we had a good meeting. One of his sisters, after meeting, came and invited me to go to their house the next day in the forenoon to visit them; and when I had got there, her brother and about twenty more people were assembled there, to my great surprise; and we had a blessed meeting. It

was but a few days after this, early one morning, where I had tarried the night before, we got up and I had been praying very earnestly to the Lord that he would direct my mind that day, and lead it where it might be most for his glory, honour and praise, when, to my great surprise who came in but this man before mentioned, and began very humbly to acknowledge his faults to me, and said he, "O how often have I wished you dead;" and said that he had come four miles that morning on purpose to see me; and that he would have gone ten miles but that he would find me. He then begged me to forgive him; but I told him that it was not me that he had offended, and therefore I had nothing to forgive him. He then wished me to go directly home with him to his house, which I very cheerfully did; and his heart seemed to be melted, and his eyes flowing with tears. While on our way to his house, he told me his views of Christ; that he seemed at a great distance, and that he wanted him to be near him. When we had got to his house there were assembled about twenty people; and the spirit of the Lord appeared among us and blessed us together; and it was one of the most happy meetings, I think, that I ever experienced in my life. Like St. Paul, this man was directly turned about; and those of his religious neighbors, whom he before hated and despised, now became his chosen company; and he was frequent at meeting and brethren, how much this looks like christianity, or like the work of our Lord Jesus Christ; or like that of old father Paul, when he was converted; and like the conversion of many others who have been renewed by the holy ghost. It brings to my mind the language of David: "Come unto me, all you that fear the Lord, and hark, and I will tell you what the Lord has done for me; for he has taken my feet out of the horrible pit and mirey clay, and set them on a rock, and established my goings, and put a new song in my mouth, even praises to the Lord." And I am fully persuaded that this is the language of all saints in the world.

When I came from the eastward I intended to have returned back there again; but my debts pressed so hard that I could not leave my business at home, and in consequence of which, have never been there since. But I still pray to the Lord to bless them in this world, and to receive them into celestial glory in the world of spirits, and that which is to come.

Now I would note that in the year 1805, November 14th I was married to the widow Hannah Starr, of Guilford, Vermont; (which was just three years six months and two days after my second wife

died;) and I removed her and two of her children to Springfield, Vermont, on the twentieth day of the same month: and I went to live with my son, and sell pewter and brass ware for him again, and I lived with him one year and a half; but the next May I went to Colchester and Burlington, took the fever and ague, and was sick all that summer. So I lived with him till the next summer, when I bought me a small piece of land; then I went to clearing up my land, and built me a small house on it, and I worked very hard; and the next June, 18th day, 1807, I moved into my house; and thanks be to God, for he has been pleased to bless my labours and the fruit of the earth, so that we have been enabled to live comfortably ever since, with prudence and care; and thanks be to God for it. I am sensible that I cannot praise his name enough for his blessing to me, both of a spiritual and temporal nature. But I have great reason to bless the Lord for his great goodness and mercy; for in the year of our Lord 1807, the Lord was pleased to open a door in a part of Chester for my small talents to be improved, as I hope and believe, and to his glory and honor, which was marvelous in our eyes, for he was pleased to bless the weakest means, so that there were fourteen souls wrought upon and hopefully converted in a short time; and blessed be the name of the Lord; for it is marvelous in our eyes that the Lord should make use of clay to open the eyes of the blind; but it is the Lord's work — and bless his name, O my soul, for I am confident that the Lord never fails in blessing his people in obedience.

While I was labouring in Chester, some of my old acquaintance, that had moved from my former place of residence into Londonderry, hearing of the reformation in Chester sent for me to come and hold some meetings among them I accepted the invitation and went, and the Lord blessed us in the first meeting with the outpouring of his spirit; to our great astonishment; for there were a number struck under conviction at our first meeting, so that the good work of the Lord was plain to be seen. The Lord carries on his work in such ways and by such means as he sees fit; and he will take the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and the things which are not to bring to nought the things that are; or as seemed good in his own way and manner, even by the least of his servants on the face of the earth. — And it was made as manifest as ever I saw it in all my travels during my life. For there was a certain man that came on purpose to pick flaws and make game for himself and others, as it was his custom to do. And as I was at prayer, my mind was led to cry

mightily to the Lord, that if there was any that had come there that night as spies, the Lord would be pleased to let down a spy-glass from heaven, that they might look right into their own hearts, see the awful distance they were from God, by reason of their sins, and be enabled to repent and believe in the Lord. And the Lord was pleased to set it home upon his heart as a nail in a sure place: as he told in his own confession afterwards, that he had come purposely with that intent, and had been strong in the belief of universal doctrine. And I staid in that town eight days, and had a number of meetings there. The next first day, in the evening, I heard him cry, O Lord have mercy on my poor soul; and he called for the prayers of all that had an interest at the throne of grace, for he said, you all know that I have been as great a sinner as ever lived in this world. And the Lord saw fit that his wife should be struck under conviction at the same meeting, with a number more; and the blessed work of the Lord spread in that neighborhood, so that we had a good time. And the 7th day after Mr. Wright was struck, the Lord was pleased to bring him out of darkness into his marvellous light, and blessed be the name of the Lord for it; and the Lord made him a good and faithful soldier in his service, and so he lived and so he died in the full assurance of faith.

I have had many happy meetings with them since, as well as in Chester. And may the Lord carry on his glorious work, and cause it to spread till the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. For I always found that when I am willing to deny myself and to take up my cross and follow Christ's commands, I found peace in my own soul; for I find in doing his will there is great peace: but in disobedience there is nothing better than the rod of God; and blessed be the name of the Lord for it, for I find the Lord's way is the best way for men to be happy in this world and I believe in that which is to come. And as the Lord has always blessed me when I was obedient to his command I had a great many scattering blessings in my travels in the world; and I do believe he would have given me abundantly more, had I been more faithful in his vineyard, and I am heartily sorry and mourn from day to day for my disobedience to the Lord.

On the 5th September, 1809, I undertook a long journey, to Swanzey, Rehoboth, Dighton, Taunton, and Dartmouth, to see all my brothers and sisters living in these places, these being the place of my nativity, and where I had formerly lived; wishing to see them

once more, and take my farewell of them, as I had got to be an old man — And I had a very good time with my friends, and many good meetings with them. But as I was returning home, when I got to Gloucester, in the State of Rhode Island, where I had lived many years before, I met with a bad hurt, by my horse kicking me very badly, so that I was very lame, and in great pain, but I made out to get home, although I took a bad cold.

On the 2d day of November, 1809, I set out with my wife to go to her father's, at Guilford, a distance of about forty-five miles; and I was so lame that it took us two days and a half to get there. We staid there three days and a half. On the morning of the fourth day, we set out for home; and as her mother was to accompany us a little way to one of the neighbor's, I sat on a box in the fore part of the wagon; and being very lame, my wife's father sent his boy to let down some bars. In going over a rough piece of meadow which we were obliged to pass before we could come into the road, I slipped from my box as suddenly as though I had been shot through the heart, and my right foot caught under the tongue of the waggon, and my right ham was hanging or twisted over the iron that the near horse draws by, and the wheel run over my right side and broke my ribs, with my right foot fast under the tongue; and some how or other, in the struggle, I flung myself under the waggon, on my face; and the horses drawing me by the legs, I over on my face, with my leg twisted up under the waggon tongue and iron, had not the boy run back and stopped the horses, I must have been torn all in pieces in a few minutes, and I should have been dead, and should have changed worlds. I was past making any noise, so that when they had got out of the waggon, they thought I was dead, for my hat was off, and the cape of my great coat was over my head, and the hind wheel on the cape of my great coat, so that they lifted up the wheel several times, and they thought that my head was mashed all to pieces; but when I got so that I spoke and asked them to relieve my foot, they were all surprised to hear me speak again, but they did not know where my foot was. They were very much put to it to get my foot loose from the entanglement, and time seemed very long to me, for the pain seemed like the racking of the drawing of a tooth, and my leg and thigh was swollen very bad. But they got help and carried me back to her father's house again; and I was not able to have my clothes on again for eighteen days. I was very sick, for it had strained all the cords and racked the bones all on that side, so that I was unable to undress myself for

more than two years; and I am still very lame to this day, which is more than ten years.

But it seems my time had not quite come, for the Lord knows best what is best for his children to pass through, for he had more troubles for me to go through. When I was brought home, I found my oldest daughter was very sick; and in two months she was dead. She died the 26th of January, 1810, and left eight children, one of them but one hour old when she died. The Lord has seen fit to take away all three of my daughters, who have all left families, so that I have had trouble upon trouble and breach upon breach; but after all I have great reason to bless and praise the name of the Lord, for I have reason to believe that our loss is their gain: and I find that troubles are like April showers, as one passeth another cometh. And the Lord has taken away my oldest son's wife and two of his children, and many of my other grand-children and great-grandchildren. But as David said, Before I was afflicted I went astray, but afterward I learnt thy righteous precepts; O, so may I learn to praise the name of the Lord, even in the midst of trouble and in adversity, really believing that our God knows what is best for all his children; for he has told us that "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord will deliver him out of them all;" and I believe that he will do it, for he knows best what we can bear. I believe that it is our sins that bring our trouble and trials upon us; for when I have been called to hold up that little light that God had given me, or that one talent, I was ready to shrink at the cross, and to say, like Gideon of old, O Lord, my family is poor in Manassah, and I am the least in my father's house; and so shrunk at the cross, brought great trials on my mind, and so laid myself almost useless in his vineyard for a long time, yea I may say many a time; but I have never found any peace in disobedience, for there is no peace to the wicked; they are like the troubled sea, which casts up mire and dirt: but in denying myself and taking up my cross and obeying his commands, there is always peace to be found. For to obey is better than sacrifice, and to partake than the fat of rams.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS — I

COURT MARTIAL OF ISAAC TICHENOR

Sometime GOVERNOR OF VERMONT

From the W. F. True Collection

The following documents relate to the court martial of Isaac Tichenor for the misuse of his purchasing powers, a circumstance which is not mentioned by Hiland Hall in his brief biographical sketch printed below. Since many of them are obviously of a later period than the date of the trial, the latter seems to have had little effect on his reputation. This material, loaned by Mr. Walter F. True, is the first important documentary evidence we have had relating to this incident. In view of his subsequent prominence, it is of no small significance.

Changes have been kept to a minimum. Occasionally periods have been inserted to replace the dash commonly used at the time, especially where a capital letter follows. Sometimes it was necessary to insert a period and capital letter to make the meaning at all clear; other times semi-colons sufficed. All of the latter are added. But for the most part, the text has been left "as is," displaying, sometimes, distressing illiteracy.

Three documents relating to the court martial present the issue; then the letters follow in chronological order. Some antedate, some post-date the trial. Some are originals, some copies. Most of the latter were evidently ones which Henry Stevens had made over a half-century later, though some were contemporary copies and may have been gathered by Royall Flint to supplement Tichenor's own documents at the trial. The entire group seems to have been gathered together by Stevens about 1846, and includes some notes of his.

Editor

Isaac Tichenor, who was prominent in the latter part of the New York controversy, was born at Newark, N.J., February 8, 1754, and educated at Princeton College, then under the presidency of the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon for whom and whose memory he always had the highest veneration. He graduated in 1775, and while pursuing the study of law at Schenectady, N.Y. he was early in 1777 appointed as-

sistant to Jacob Cuyler, deputy commissary general of purchases for the northern department, having for his field of service an extensive portion of the New England states. In the performance of his official duties he came to Bennington the 14th of June, 1777, and was there superintending the collection of supplies for the army during the principal part of the summer of that year. On the 13th of August, he left Bennington with a drove of cattle for Albany, and returned the 16th by way of Williamstown, arriving on the battle ground about dark, just as the fighting had ceased. From this time his residence was in Bennington when not in actual service in the commissary department. About the close of the war he commenced the practice of law and soon became active in public affairs. He represented the town in the general assembly in 1781 and for the succeeding three years, was agent of the state to congress in 1782, and was the same year appointed by the legislature to visit Windham county and advocate the claims of the state with the friends of New York in that section, in which enterprise he was in some degree successful. He was a member of the state council for five years from 1787, was one of the commissioners named in the act of 1789, for adjusting the controversy with New York, was a judge of the supreme court for five years from 1791, and in 1796 was chosen a senator in congress to supply the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Moses Robinson, and also for the succeeding six years, which place he resigned on being elected governor in October, 1797. He held the office of governor for ten consecutive years until October 1807, when Israel Smith was his successful competitor. He was however elected again in 1808, making his whole term of service in the executive chair eleven years. In 1814 he was again chosen senator in congress, which office he held for six years, terminating March 3, 1821, when he retired from public life. Gov. Tichenor died December 11, 1838, leaving no descendants. He was a man of good private character, of highly respectable talents and of accomplished manners and insinuating address. His fascinating personal qualities acquired for him at an early day the sobriquet of the "Jersey Slick," by which he was long designated in familiar conversation. He was a federalist in politics, and his popularity was such that he was elected governor for several successive years after his party had become a minority in the state.

From Hiland Hall, Early History of Vermont, pp. 471-2

Mr. Isaac Tichenor, a Deputy Purchasing Commissary, stands impeached and accused of the following Neglects of Duty, Crimes or Misdemeanors.

First, For not complying with the Orders received from proper Authority, for forming a Magazine of Provisions on the Upper Part of Connecticut River in the latter Part of the Year 1778 and in the Beginning of 1779.

Secondly, Making frequent and repeated Misrepresentations of the Ability of that Part of the Country which was assigned to him as his Purchasing District as an Excuse for such Neglect or Disobedience of Orders.

Thirdly, The delivering or causing to be delivered over to the Issuing Commissary at Charlestown and Coos, a Quantity of salted Beef in a State improper to be received by him, and in a Condition in which it could not be saved, and afterwards neglecting to provide (tho' frequently requested) the necessary Articles and Means to save that Specie of Provisions, by which the Public have sustained a Loss.

Fourthly, A Misapplication of the Public Money in not procuring a Proportion of the several and different Species of Provisions necessary to form a Magazine of Provisions, and in particular neglecting to secure the Article of Flour, the most essential.

Fifthly, The Want of a proper Exertion in procuring the Allowance of Provisions and Rum for the Troops, who were serving under Col. Hazen's Command; as that Detachment were the whole Course of the Summer on short Allowance, and frequently without Bread or Flour.

Sixthly, Not supplying his Assistant, Wm. Child, with Money to comply with the Orders he had received and adequate to the Wants to fulfil the Bargains and Contracts made for the Public by Mr. Child, by which the good People of that District have been greatly deceived and injured, to the Prejudice of the Public Service.

Seventhly, Preventing Mr. Child, his Assistant, from purchasing Rum for the Troops at and about Coos, which was offered him at a reasonable Rate and at or about the same Time selling a Quantity of Rum (which had been bought for Public

your making the application and receiving the Money it had so depreciated as not to purchase half so much as you had a right to estimate, and that if Provisions had been sold as General Bailey represented you would have had money enough to buy all that the Country could then afford.

I cannot find in any of my papers that Gen^l Bailey represented that the Grain could be bought at any specified price. If he did it will be of consequence that you be able to prove this fact. If the Court is held at Springfield, Col. Wadsworth will attend upon requesting it.

I wish a prosperous Issue to your cause,
And am with Esteem —

Your Obed. Serv^t
Royal Flint

1780, May 4 *Herrick, Sam^l* } select to *Tichenor, Isaac*
 Robinson, Sam^l } men *Charlestown, No. 4*
 Bennington }

This was probably sent to Tichenor to be presented to Reed, president of the court martial. Ed.

Sir:

We are informed by a letter under the signature of Isaac Tichenor Esqr that Col. Hazen has represented to the hon^{ble} Court Martial of which you have the honour to be president that the persons that he the said Tichenor has employed as purchasers of cattle for the publics use were either enemies to thare country or persons without recommendation.

The above charge being exhibited to the hon^{ble} Court in general terms without exception induces us in justice to Mr. Tichenor's charge as a gentleman who we conceive from several years acquaintance to have conducted the business of his appointment in the purchasing department with honor and fidelity, to certify. viz — That Mr. Stephen Hopkins who has been many years an inhabitant of this town has been several years successively employed by Mr. Tichener as Assistant purchaser of Cattle etc. for the use of the publick and has by his study and conduct ever maintained a reputable character sufficiently proved himself a true and faithful friend to the right and liberties of America and a parson whose abilities and fidelity jently merits him the good

We have the honor to be Sir
your most Obt' Humble Serts
Sam.¹¹ Herrick } select
Sam.¹¹ Robinson } men

* * * * *

This and the following four letters were copied by the same hand, possibly in the New York archives or in Washington. The paper and writing would seem to date these copies about 1840-50.

Your Letter by Capt. Butterfield come Safe to hand, the Letter you refer me to Sent by Mr. Gardner has not yet reached me. Yesterday I sent to you Mr. Phineas Gage to inquire of your Situation, Copy of which I herewith enclose you. You will from that easily perceive how much I depend on your exertions and what powers I have given you and that money will always be forwarded to you upon the least notice. As to Flour for the Supply of the Army in your quarter I am somewhat at a loss for. I wish wheat could be bought there and manufactured. And I should be glad to hear what is upon hand. And your opinion on the Subject of that Article, And any other Article wanted for the Army in that quarter. If you find it necessary to purchase any supplies you will at all times be Careful to have an order from the Commanding Officer of the Army, or Detachment for any Supplies he wants procured. My Brother Cornelius will be home tomorrow and I will try to prevail on him to Come And assist you for a Short time. The Bearer will deliver you Four Thousand pounds New York Currency, as pr. his is receipt inclosed. You have herewith my Orders to employ as many persons as you may think necessary to do any business for my department. I hope General Arnold will Soon give a good Account of the Army to the Westward. I am much obliged to you for your intelligence. And Shall always be happy to hear from you. General Gates who

now Commands the Northern Department has appointed one Capt. Windship to be D.C. G¹¹ of Issues. I hope he will know to see his business done in your quarter by providing Commissaries for the issues, according to the regulations of Congress. I am Sir Your most Obt. humble Servant — Jacob Cuyler D.C.G.¹¹ of P.

1777, Sept. 17 Cuyler, Jacob to Tichenor, Isaac
 (copy) Albany Williamstown

Limits For the Purchasers of Cattle under Jacob Cuyler Esqr.
D. C. G. Purchase in the Northern Department

Mr. Dougless of Springfield takes in Granville Sandersfield and West Field, and as far South into Connecticut as Suffield And Infield And as far East as it bears — As far North as Northampton and East into Hardwick and not encroaching upon the Eastern Purchasers. Mr. Tickner's Limits who is at Williamstown is to be extended to the South bounds of that town and as far East as the River Connecticut leaving Chesterfield to his South. And then to extend himself into the Grants and New Hampshire taking Care that precaution is used that he does not interfere with Mr. Douglass to the Southward and the Boston Purchasers to the Eastward. Should he not be Able in that Manner to Send as many Cattle as was directed Weekly to Send, he then in that Case will acquaint me in time as also Mr. Douglass who is one of my Deputies at Springfield and its neighbourhood who is to fill up the Deficiency of the number of Cattle you was to Send me Weekly. As Mr. King will not answer for Mr. Tickner he therefore will desire Mr. King to apply to Mr. Douglass to be by him employed in whose district he lives. Mr. Sprague and Gardner they are to have Hancock, Lanesburgh, Pittsfield, Stockbridge, Upper Barrington, Gageburg and not to interfere to the North with Mr. Tickner, the East with Mr. Douglass, the South with New Canan, where Spencer Purchases. Messr Garnryck and Spencer, they are to have New Canan, Spencertown, Claverack, the Mannor Livingston, Nobletown and Kinderhook. Mr. Strong to Sharon, Salisbury, and the oblong taking care not to interfere with the Southern Purchasers, and not to go farther East or North than the bounds of Salisbury and the West part of Sheffield (Pir Igrement?)

Messr Lawrence and Kingsbury. They are to have Goshen, Cornwall, Sheffield and Litchfield and So East into Connecti-

rect^d from time to time to provide and by doing And performing all manner of things there unto belonging agreeable to the regulations of Congress made for that purpose. And in Order to prevent Certain persons of this And other States who under Specious pretences of necessary purchases for private use do greatly enhance the price of provision to the great detriment of the purchasing department and consequently to their Country, you are hereby directed to call on the Civil Authority to Seize Such live Stock and pay for Said Cattle and expense what the Civil power Shall require.

You will See that no encroachments are made upon Colⁿ Champion in the State of Massachusetts and upon Capt. Douglass in the County of Rockingham and Grafton — let the Strict principles of Honour be our guide within our limits.

Rects for Cattle must be taken in my name by your hands as follows — Rec^d of Isaac Tickner by the hands of Capt Blanchard (or others) Sixty pounds for Two oxen black and wh^c for the use of the Army.

Keen January 6, 1778

John Jones

Rects must be taken for all monies paid out for expenses of Cattle Drivers etc. Duplicate Invoices must be Sent With Each drove of Cattle, one of which must be returned to you as your voucher.

1778, June Oath

by

Jonathan Blanchard
Hezekiah Gaylord

Deerfield

In Congress June 10th 1777 —

Resolved — (*sic*)

That the Commissary and Deputy Commissary's General of Purchases in each department, and every Purchaser employed under them, Shall Take the Oath of Fidelity to the United States, and the following Oath or Affirmation Viz —

“I ————— do Solemnly Swear (or affirm,) in the Presence of Almighty God, That I will not Collude with any Person or Persons whatever, to inhance the Price of Provisions or any — Article of Commerce which I shall hereafter be directed to purchase for the use of the United States, and that I will endeavour, by every honest means in my Power to Procure the articles which

I may be directed to Purchase at the most reasonable rates, and that I will not Charge the Public with any Advance on any Purchases by me to be made, and that I will in all things conduct myself as becometh a Faithful Servant of the Publick —

Jothⁿ Blanchard
Hezekiah Gaylord

Then personally appeared Jotham Blanchard Esq. before me & made solemnly Oath to act Agreeable to the Tenor of the above Oath —

Isaac Wyman Just-pace

Deerfield, June, 1778

Then personally appeared Hezekiah Gaylord before me and made solemnly Oath to act Agreeable to the Tenor of the above Oath —

David Field Just Peace

1778, June 6 *Champion, Henry* to *Cuyler, William*
(cont. copy)

June 6—1778

Dear Sir

Yours of the 2nd Inst. this Day came to hand in answer It's impossible to Procure half the Cattle called for our main army to The southward. Colo: Wadsworth incloses you a Copy of the letters from Head Quarters which renders It needless for me. with Pleasure I shall answer your requests of this kind when ever its in my Power. I fear the good old Farmers in Hampshire and other Parts of the Northern Department will not Exert themselves to make meat Especially fresh beef. Pray appoint Some Proper Persons, If you have not Already done it, That know the ~~proper~~ motives and will in Person inforce Them. I doubt not of your (Zeal etc?) I shall be glad to assist and be assisted by you, whenever in our Power. Please to maintain a correspondence by letters.

I am Sir your most
Obdt

Henry Champion
D C G P.

Wm Cuyler
True Copy —

1778, July 22 *Blanchard, Jothⁿ* to *Tichenor, Isaac*
(copy)

Dear Sir

Inclosed you have invoice of Fifty nine head of Cattle Sent to Mr. Gaylord according to your desire — The reason there is So many lean Cattle Sent is, the Drouth has of late been So Severe in this quarter that the feed is all burnt up. Thot it most to advantage of the Continent to Send the lean to Berrington, where they may get in flesh. I Sincerely wish you happy, and am most Respectfully

In your M^r H Serv^t

Jothⁿ Blanchard

Isaac Tichenor Esq

1778, August 29 *Blanchard, Joth.* to *Tichenor, Isaac*
Peterborough *Keen*

Peterborough 29th August 1778

Dr^r Sir

I this day recd Copy of Mr. Cuylers and Yours to Mr. Gaylord Dated 8th Instant of which Take notice that 200 head Cattle will be wanted from me and that they must be Large and in good Order, which will be difficult to procure, unless exorbitant Prices are given. I saw Mr. Douglass last Wednesday; he Told me he had that week rec^d Orders from Coll^o Wadsworth to Prepare immediatly for Salting and that as Soon as Possible, (and?) as he informed me was going to Salem (did suppose his business was to Purchase Salt for that Purpose). I sent Express last Sunday week Expecting you would have been at Keen and to have rec^d. your directions for future Conduct, I shall lay Out what money I have got (which is but Precious Little) and go to Purchasing on Cred^t of Some Sort; you are not unacquainted with the disadvantage arising therefrom. I should now Send inclosed the riturne for Month July but Uncertain when and Where it wou^d reach you. Cant find if Yours to Mr. Gaylord that I must send any off Till further Orders — if they Shoud be wanted, you will Please to let me know I am in Mean Time with great respect

Sir your Sincere Friend and

M^tH Sev^t

Joth. Blanchard

P.S. The Ball^{ce} of my Acct^s As they

Now Stand is about £150 — in hand

Mrs. Scot says She will Sing you Every Old Wife's (Cock?) if
you will Come to Peterb^o —

1778, September 10 *Flint, Royal* to *Tichenor, Isaac*
Camp White Plains or *Major J. Child*

Camp White Plains Sept. 10, 1778

Gentlemen —

The propriety of fixing a few Small deposits of Provisions as far up Connecticut river as Newbury has induced me to request General Bailey to Consult you on this subject. I should not suppose you will be able to give such Attension to this Object as it really *deserves*, without neglecting other concerns, of as great service to the public and of much more profit to *yourselves* and yet this is a matter that must by no means be neglected. I have from this consideration, wrote to Col^o Cuyler to employ Gen^l Bailey for this purpose, — He can attend to this business without neglecting his own affairs altogether, and can make those trifling and scattering purchases worth his while — which in point of *personal* Profit — would scarcely deserve your notice. I wish you may form some agreement for unless you employ him, or give constant attention to it yourselves, I must request him to engage the supplies. I shall expect you will not interfere so as to in-hance the Prices of any article. The Provision you engaged in the Counties of Cumberland, Gloucester Chester and Stafford, are to be put up in those Counties, at such places — as he shall think proper so that whether he or you purchase them, his direc-tions must be observed in forming magazines —

It is by General Washington's Order that I do this. He has di-rected that General Jacob Bayley of Newbury regulate the Mat-ter you are to take directions from General Baley in obtaining the supplies. I do not wish to interfere in your purchases but I am obliged to take such measures as are here pointed out

I am Gentlemen

in behalf of the Comm^y Gen^l of Purch

Your Most Ob't Servt

Royal Flint —

A C G Pur

To Mr. Isaac Tichener or
Major Jonathan Child,
purchasing Comm^{sy}
in the fourth dept.

P.S. — I direct this to you on the supposition
that you are properly authorized as
purchasing Comm^{sy}.

Yours —

R. Flint

(1800?), March 10 copy of above.
 lacks P.S.

“Copied from original.
R. Flint.”

1778, October 15 *Tichenor, Isaac* to *Child, (Jonathan)*
(copy)

October 15, 1778

My Dear Sir

Mr. Plumbley is with me. As for the Article of Salt Capt. Douglass of Springfield will and has delivered a quantity at No. 4 or Northfield — 250 Bushels more I requested of him to be delivered at Northampton. It belongs to Quarter Master to See that it is forwarded to your Quarters, Genl Bayley or the Issuing Commissary giving a Receipt to you for the Same. You Cannot pay to great attention or diligence in purchasing of wheat. Mr Cuyler Demand for Flour is such that he will not forward any to us unless he has Genl. Washintons orders for the same — and which I have endeavored to procure. On my Return from Northampton I Should have refunded 500 pounds to Mr. Swan, but found him residing in Gaylords limits, therefore it did not belong to either of us to encourage the procuring of Cattle there without his Approbation. I Send you the Oath to be taken by every Purchaser. By it you Will See the duty of each. I trust and depend upon your exertions in performing the duty of your Department. You will Strictly adhere to directions I have given you, which will guide us with Honour. By Mr. Plumbley I Send you 15.000 dollars. I shall write to you as Soon as possible

Yours Sincerely
Isaac Tichener
A.C.G. of P.

Major Child

Let me tell you I think it in your interest to See to the Beef immediately

Hezekiah Gaylord A C P —

Sir

Rec^d yours of the 14th. In answer To Which I Have Sent On, Near the Quantity of Salt You Wrote for As for Rice and Rum that Must Come from Boston. You Can Get it Much Nearer than To Have it Carted this Way.

June 29th

I Am Your
Humble Servant
Moses Church A.C.G.

[1779?] Tichenor, Isaac to Child, Maj. Jonathan
(copy) Charletown

My Dear Sir

Mr. Plumbley is with me, also your Letter delivered by Mr Gaylord. I am Sorry that you have any Cattle, engaged as the failure of the Northern expedition leave 900 head of Cattle on my hands. which I cannot dispose of untill the time of barrelling arrives — besides Congress have Called in all our accounts and will not transmit any more money untill they know the expenditures of what has been emitted to our Department. The Board of War has Surprized them with the large prices given for Cattle, and the vast number on hand. You shall not lose anything by me, if you have procured any live Stock. See that they are kept in good pastures, and that the greatest economy is used respecting expense.

I Am Yours
Isaac Tichenor
A Com^y GP —

P.S: This day I am for
Albany — from thence to Congress
Money you Shall have when it
arrives — you must encourage me all
the Pork you Can procure
Major Jonathan Child A. C. of Purchases

undated Tichenor, Isaac to Child, (Jonth)
(cont. copy)

Possibly the following seven letters, all copied in a contemporary hand, are part of those copied by Royal Flint and mentioned in his letter of March 9, 1780 (supra). The handwriting is similar.

(early portions missing)

. . . When wanted and should any Injury arise thro' the Channell of our Duty I should feel unhappy. Mr. Cuyler is informed that the Beef is Packed in Binns and he is greatly alarmed and has wrote me a disagreeable Letter concerning it. I must entreat you not to lose one Exertion in granting a full supply of Barrels — you have every inducement for the formation of this Magazine — the World at large cry out against it, and are well as-

sured that it never will be formed, let it never be said that there was a deficiency in our Duty — the 500 Barrels of Flour and the Rum shall be sent the first Snow, at which Time I shall remove the Magazine from Peterboro' to No. 4. I wish to know whether 500 Men can be fed at Newbury from the 20th day of June with live Stock collected in the adjacent Towns of Newbury untile the end of the Campaign.

Major Child —

In haste yours
Isaac Tichenor —

Bennington Jan^y 4, 1779

My Dear Sir —

Yesterday I returned from Albeny, and early this Morning intended to make for your Quarters — your Express alters my Rout to Northfield and Peterboro' in order to forward the whole of the Provision in said Towns to Charlestown, where the whole of the Provisions in said Towns with the Flour from Albany will be Stored (any orders from Gen^l Bayley notwithstanding) I need not answer every particular of your Letter as I shortly shall be with you. Gen^l Bayley's Conduct and Measures I am well acquainted with, yet am happy in the Intelligence you and Mr. Lyne has given me — let the Public good be your guide with every exertion, and public Applause will certainly follow — By the Bearer I Transmit you 35,000 dollars, by which means I leave myself in Debt in Hampshire upwards of 100,000 more.

Major Child

Yours Sincerely
Isaac Tichenor

No 4 Feby 6, 1779

Dear Sir —

My Express has returned from Albany without procuring any Money from thence. Mr. Cuyler being daily in Expectation of a Supply the Inst it arrives shall be forwarded to you. I am well apprized of the Disadvantage we labour under thro' the want of Cash especially the precarious Situation in which you are in with respect to purchasing Wheat. I Transmit you a Copy of his Excellencies Letters to Colo. Wadsworth and the Directions to me in consequence you will immediately consult with Gen^l Bayley and Colo. Bedel and take such Measures with respect to the

Stores as their Safety and his Excellencies Pleasure requires — for my own part I am at a loss what Measures to take for their Safety and my own, they must either be removed or Strict and regular Guard provided — the former I wish not to adopt — should you in your consultation chuse the latter give the strictest attention to it.

In haste yours

Major Child

Isaac Tichenor

N B Whatever Rum may be wanted for the use of the Store must come at the first Cost which I shall endeavour to supply you with from Portsmouth —

Bennington Feby 21st 1779

Dear Sir

Mr Lynes delivers you Six Thousand Dollars — all I can spare use the greatest Prudence in Collecting your Accounts — and be certain that Issuing Receipts agree with your Receipts of Purchase — I shall be with you upon my return from Albany in haste yours

Major Child —

Isaac Tichenor

Bennington Sep^r 26th 1779

Dear Sir

Mr. Cuylers Letter will Inform you that it is — out of his Power at all Times to grant a Supply of Money — I received his Express and Money last Evening, by Doct^r Gage you receive 80,000 dollars — Thirty Thousand dollars I Transment to Spencer — I rest assured that you will use every Exertion in securing the Wheat — I have wrote to Spencer upon the Subject and have great Expectations from him — and Bellows — I am waiting for a Supply of Money, when received I shall repair to your Quarter — and fix the necessary Magazines which (we be?) considerable — Salt I have on the way for the purpose and Barrels sufficient for my Demands at No. 4. I am in hopes you will have a sufficiency for the Flour and Beef you will have lodged in your Quarter. As for the Price of Wheat your Prudence will direct you — I have writ to the Legislature of New Hampshire — have little Expectations from that Quarter of As-

sistance, therefore the Public good must be our Guide, See that the Regiment has a full supply of Provisions etc. on their March — In haste

Major Child —

I am yours
Isaac Tichenor

Arlington Oct^r8, 1779

My Dear Sir

I have this Instant received your Letter of the 5th. I am with the Governor and Council of this State for the purpose of the Grain in this Quarter — I have a happy Prospect of Succeeding — I have not any Money on hand and rec^d Orders from Mr. Cuyler not to expend any Money for Cattle, but for the Article of Wheat only, untill he can furnish me with a supply which I am hourly in Expectation of, and when rec^d — shall be immediately with you — I doubt not but of a supply by the Return of my Express or by Mr. Lyne — rest assured I shall take proper Measures respecting the Salt and pay the utmost Attention to my Orders of Purchase — I make not the least doubt but that you will use every Exertion with me in the fullfilling the Duty of my Office —

Yours Isaac Tichenor

N^o3. Wheat you must give your Attention to —

I. T.

Major Child

Bennington Oct^r18th 1779

Dear Sir

I send you 120,000 Dollars — every farthing must be applied to the Purchase of Wheat — such are my Orders — cannot you procure a Certificate from the Selectmen of the Towne of the Quantity of Wheat that may be spared from each Town — an Estimate of this Kind I wish to return his Excellency — I shall set out for No 4 this day Week — I shall reserve 100,000 dollars for the Towns adjacent — I send you an Extract of General Washingtons Letter in haste

yours

Major Child

Isaac Tichenor

1779, May 20 *unsigned (Tichenor, Isaac?)* *unaddressed*

May 20, 1779 (1778?)

Dear Sir

Were I not under a Necessity of leaving this Town immediately I should have done myself the pleasure of waiting upon you this Day — but as it otherwise I must trouble you with this —

As you are purchasing Cattle to drive from this State, to the Massachusetts under some Persons authority from thence makes me presume that you are entirely unacquainted with the Resolves of Congress made (and?) for ~~that purpose~~ the purchasing Department — unfortunately I have them not with me therefore cannot transmit them to you.

Colⁿ Wadsworth is appointed by the Hon^{bl} Continental Congress Commis^y G^{ll} for the Armies of the United States. Colⁿ Colt Champion and Colⁿ Cuyler are appointed as Deputies under him each have their particular Limits, which under a severe penalty are not to be encroachd upon — Colⁿ Cuylers Limits are the States of New York and Hampshire. The Latter he has thought proper to commit to the care of Capt. Douglas & myself. Duty obliges one to see that his Directions with those of Congress are Duly enforced. Therefore you will not think it unkind ~~hard~~ improper in me to request and insist that you make not any purchases in this state from the time of your rec^t of this unless it be purchases if the Armies in the Massch. State or elsewhere are in want of provision for their (depots?) Colⁿ Cuyler Deputies are Ready to supply — But if you are not a legal purchaser under the Regulations of Congress but purchasing upon a private (), it highly injurious to the Economy of the Public and ought by every means be prevented —

(illegible scribble)

Kingtown

1780, April 21 *deposition*

Northfield

These may Certifie whoomsoever they may Concern That we the Subscribers according to the best of our Remembrance Did give a Letter in favour of Mr. Hezekiah Gaylord sometime in the year Signifying That We Esteem^d him a good friend to His

Northfield Ap^l 21th: 1780 Sign^d:

Samuel Smith	}	Then Comy
Sam ^l Root		of Safety
Eben ^r Janes		for the Town of Northfield

1780, May 4 Warner, Jonathⁿ
 Williams, John Chester } to Col. Reed, Pres. of
 Hadley (Mass.) Court Martial
 Charlestown (N.H.)

Hadley May 4th 1780

To Col. Reed President of the
Court Martial at Charlestown.

Jonathth Warner

I hereby certify that I have employed Mr. Hezekiah Gaylord of Northfield in the Disposal of English goods, entrusting him with large Sums of Money that he always accounted with Me for the same to my Content — that he is reported a zealous Friend to the Rights and Liberties of the United States and has been considered as such during the present Contest. —

Hadley May 4th 1780 John Chester Williams
To Col. Reed President of a Gen^l Court
Martial — Charlestown

With the exception of Warner's signature, all of the above is in the hand of Williams.

1780, July 21 *Cuyler, Jacob*
Albany

to *Tichenor, Isaac*
Bennington

Albany 21st July 1780

(Circular)

Sir

Hay

The State have by a late appointment made Coll Udny Way their agent to procure supplies of provisions for the Army, and by a law passed the last Session none is authorized to purchase after the 1st of August, but what are appointed either by him or His Excellency the Governor — you will therefore cease to make any purchases or otherwise to procure supplies after the said first day of August now next ensuing, and prepare yourself without the least delay to make a settlement, up to the first of January inclusive, under Coll Wadsworth with which accounts and vouchers according to the System, you will repair with to me for settlement, in order to obtain speedily the ballance due my Department, for without it I cannot effect to procure any Cash. With respect to your purchases, Contracts and other Contingencies after the first of January last to this present Month inclusive, are to be considered as what is transacted under Coll Ephraim Blaine. These Accounts you will also bring to me for a settlement, but least it might be take some time before you can have compleated them, I desire you will send me the Monthly Returns of purchases as are no delivered up to this Month inclusive, in order to try if Coll Blaine can obtain me a sum of Cash when he can shew the ballance due my Department, it will be needless for me to urge your expedition in this matter, as you will at one view see the necessity of the measure, and that no time should be lost in settling the whole of your Accounts, but more particularly to forward your Monthly purchases — You will please to deliver all your provisions and other Supplies you have, to the Issuing Department immediately, so as that the whole of our Accounts close in the Month of July —

I am Sir

To
Isaac Tichenor Esq.

your most Obedt Servt
Jacob Cuyler

1780, July 28 *Child, Jonth*
 Lime, (N.H.)

to

Tichenor, Isaac

Lime 28 of July 1780

Dear Sir

Yours by Mr. Lynes is with me you

Mention Mr. Cuylers Displeasure at the method of Returning the articles of Purchases; my Situation was Such that I knew not what to do but willing to have your Direction in every matter I wrote you on the Subject the 20 of June by Doct Pages Express. I impatiently waited your answer but never Received any untill the one dated 13th of July in which I have the following advice Viz., "I like your method of liquidating your accounts I was determined to write you on the Subject I wish you not to pursue your plan fully untill you hear from me — I Shall not make a general Return of your account untill I See you So that what ever measures you pursue I Shall be able to rectify." Immediately upon the receipt of which I desisted from delivering any stores back to my Creditors. I Supposed by the above passage in your letter that my accounts were Still in your hands and of course no Blame could arise if they are so Should think best to keep Back receipts Siffitient let them be for flour to the amount of Eight or ten thousand pound but if they are Sent to the board of war there is no other way but to forward the money immediately and I will replace the flour in Doing of which their is no difficulty before any will be wanted for there is Still large Quantities of old wheat and fine Prospect of a New one Superior to the last year — there is very little of the flour I delivered carried away for I injoined it on those to whom it was delivered that they Should give the parson appointed by New Hampshire the refusal of the flour but if no measures were taken by the States for the people to have them pay they then Should have liberty to carry there flour to what market they Pleased. I acted from this Principle that if the Publick was likely to want it they certainly would take Some method to procure it. As to making a Return of all Purchases under Coll Blain, Since January last you are Sincible I never had no orders to do it and it is now out of my Power for you may remember when we Setted at No. four I gave you my last return without keeping a copy in your receipt you promis to copy it and return it to me which you never have done therefore you must make it your Self according to your own proposals as to (fal-

low?) I have dispos'd of about four thousand waight at (ten) pound for a bushel of wheat which you will easily (cast?) I Suppose what you are in debt to me for my Service in purchasing and Time and Expence money at the court Martial will amount to as much as the fallow I have Sold if not more the remainder of the fallow is now in Store except what has bin deliv'd to the troops — I cannot ascertain the exact quantity of Salt used that was Sent By Capt Blanchard. Col^l Bedel did not Measure what he put to the Beef I Believe about forty or fifty Bushel hath bin used —. Maj^r Whitcomb and Gen^l Bayley have constantly called on me for flour for the Troops and Indians ever Since the court I have delivered them what they have wanted but the Stores are in Such a Situation that I know not what to do; for Particulars I refer you to Mr. Lyne — I think it is absolutely necessary for you to be Presant as the case is circumstanced for it is Impossible for me to know how to conduct your Business in this critical Situation — for the Enimies of us Both are not wanting in there Exertions nor dispositions to do us a displeasure if in their power; but I hope that we Shall So conduct our affairs that there Intended Mischiefs may return with redoubled vengeance on there own heads; pray consider well our Situation and I doubt not but that you will Take every necessary Precaution for our honour and Safty as well as for the disappointment of those whose Envy and Mallice would willingly ruin us both if in there power. I have frequently called on Col^l Bedell for his account for killing cutting Packing and repacking the Beef last fall but could never obtain it. I renewed my request on the receipt of your letter by Mr. Lyne he will Present you with the answer — the hay that was given the Cattle in the year 1778 Gen^l Bayley allowed in his account but it not allowed by the Q.M.G. therefore Bayley Call upon me; thus you See many things make it necessary for you to be present but to your Superiour judgment I Submit the whole and am Sir with great Esteem and respect your Most

Obt. Servt.

Jon^a Child

Mr. Tichenor

1780, Sept 21 Farnsworth, Jos to Tichenor, Isaac
 Weathersfield Bennington

Weathersfield, 21st Sept^{br} 1780

Dear Sir I have but one moments time to Inform you that I had an interview with Colo Wadsworth, and his excellency General Washington last night at hartford and Wadsworth tells me you are acquitted and the General says he will publicize it as soon as he returns to camp. Colo Wadsworth tells me that your friend Hazen, is now under an arest which will brake him, he thinks he will rite you more fully by me his Compliments together with Major Hareson to you — please to inform mother we got Down very well and are now Seting out for Norwich with brother Keith and his wife and I mean to be at home by next tuesday week if nothing happens: our friends are all well hear: I have nothing new to rite, except that their was a brittish fruget, Drove a Shoar on Mantock point last week, the Capt and Several of the officers were Drowned attempting to get a shoar

these from your sincear friend and most,
obedient Humble Sar^{vt}

Jos Farnsworth

N B wives
Mrs. farnsworth, best
compliments to you

To Mr. Isaac Tichenor, Esq. at Bennington
or in his absence to Miss Carruthers
in favor of Mr Hinshaw.

1780, October 30 *unsigned* (*Tichenor, Isaac?*) *unaddressed*
 Bennington

Bennington Oct^r 30, 1780

Dear Sir

I cannot Refer to the Date of your Letter as I have it not with me, but if you do justice to my esteem and obligations to you, you will not suppose that¹ I would hesitate at² the Nicety and form of answering Letter by Letter³ would prevent my imbraceing every safe conveyance — the same Freedom from you would give me a double Pleasure, as it is from you only I can enjoy the Privledge of hearing from my Friends. You will please to convey the

inclosed, and if possible favour an answer by the Bearer Capt Moulton who will safely deliver it — I was assured of being in Jersey long before this but the Situation of my Business then and even to this hour will not permit. The Court Martial ~~called the~~ employed the whole of my time in the Spring, it continued for Six Weeks and two Days, the greatest part of the time was spent in personal altercations and Reflections before the Court, which ~~did little~~ reflected little honor upon their Dignity, and established Hazen's indefatigable Baseness as a Prosecutor — I have not been officially informed of the Result neither am I over anxious — the Trial was attended by a Number of Gentlemen in the District in which I acted who heard the Evidences adduced

ACCOUNTS

1. Account of Purchases made by Hezekiah Gaylord A D C of Purchase in the Month of Jan^{ry} 1779.
2. Jacob Cuyler Esq. D C General of Purchases in Account with Isaac Tichenor March 24, 1778 — Sept^{br} 1780
3. Account of Purchases made by Isaac Tichenor in the month of August 1779. (*List of dates, names, places, types of purchases and amounts.*)
4. Return of Purchases made in the month of August 1779 by Isaac Tichenor A C Purchaser for the Northern Dept.
5. Account of the several Sums of Money due to Sundry Persons for Articles purchased for the use of the Public by Isaac Tichenor, A Commissary of Purchases, for payment of which he has given his private notes of Hand. (*List of dates, names, places, types of purchases and amounts.*)
6. Entries of Purchases by Isaac Tichenor Esq. from June 1779 to May 1780 inclusive. (*List of dates, names, places, amounts and types of purchases.*)
7. Account of several sums of money due to Sundry Persons for articles purchased for the United States by Isaac Tichenor, Commissary of Purchases for payment whereof he has given his private notes of hand.

The within and above Abstract contains the several sums of Money then due to the respective persons, whose names are thereunto annexed for articles furnished and services performed for the use of the United States, purchased and ob-

tained by me when acting as assistant Commissary of purchase under the direction of Jacob Cuyler Esqr Deputy Commissary General of purchase for the N Department, for which they have not received any Compensation.

Isaac Tichenor

State of New York June 9th 1784 —

Treasury Department.

Auditors Office 1st March 1797.

I hereby Certify the foregoing to be a true Copy of an Original Document now on file in this office with the papers of William Barber Esquire, late Commissioner of Accounts for the State of New York —

Witness my hand and Seal of office the day and year above written

N Harrison Auditor

8. Isaac Tichenor A C of Purchases in Accot Current with Jacob Cuyler, D C G.

Treasury Department, Auditors
Office. March 9th 1797

I hereby Certify the foregoing to be a true Copy of an Original Statement now on file in this office with the accounts of Jacob Cuyler late Deputy Commissary General of purchases.

Witness my hand and Seal of office the day and year above written.

N Harrison Auditor

9. Five receipts and attestations of money owing Peter Becker of Shaftesbury.

NOTES OF HENRY STEVENS

1847, July 14 *Stevens, Henry* to *Thomas, Hon Stephen*
Barnet *West Fairlee*

Friend Thomas.

Now as to Hezekiah Gaylord I have recovered the Paper which he signed at the time he received his appointment and on the same paper a certificate before a magistrate of the Oath of Office I have documents on (neither?) recommendations as to

Tomorrow I begin haying and shall be at home some time.

Henry Stevens

Barnet February 4th 1848

Dear Sir

Your friend

Henry Stevens

Law of 32, 36, 38 relates to Service and the precise Technicality of the enlistment or engagement is not enquired after, if Gaylord volunteered and Served and his Service was accepted by the law he was entitled, if he mistook his title or the capacity in which he Served, the law would give the pension for the grade in which he Served. Tichenor was called A.D.C.G. of P. Gaylord A. C. of P. meaning a Purchaser. Such as I find the 3^d in the rank of the Purchasing Dept had a lawfull right to appoint; it is not the meaning of the law that the Com^r should go back and find that individual Soldiers or officer complied with all of the

technicalities of the law in entering the Service, but that he Should find that the individual Served; thousands of the men rushed into the field and performed good Service without complying with law 1775 men rushed to the field without law and it has never been thought that they were not to reciv Pensions for that Service —

It is evident that Washington thought he had assistants lawful ones or he would not order an investigation Hazen suposed he had right to assistants (see complaint)

Tichenor was A D C G of P. see Cuyler's Division of District.

Cuyler Directs Tichenor to employ as many as he thinks necessary Aug 28, 1777

See W Page to Gaylord April 10th 1779

Select Men recom^d of Stephen Hopkins 4 May 1780
AP

Hezk Gaylord's Service

Monthly return Aug. 1779 entered in Book

Letter from I. T March 13. .78 requesting cattle to be Sent

“ “ N. G to I. T. Dec^r 5 '78

“ “ I. T. to Childs — Oct 15, '78

a/c of Purchases by Gaylord Jan 7/79

“ “ “ “ Do Nov/78

“ “ “ “ Do Oct/78

Cuyler to I.T. to employ as many he pleases

Aug 23^d/77

Do Do Dividing, Teritory into Districts

Sept 17th, 1777

Evidence filed in Department

Receipts — May 6th/78 £124-16 for cattle Delivered

Sign I.T.

Do July 23^d/78 54 h^d cattle Ded Larant Putman

Do Oct 1st/78 N.G-A.D.P receipt \$10080. .

from I.T.

Do Oct 28/78 for two oxen bought by N.G.-A D P —
(Thain^l Poms?)

Do Nov 19/78 £216 of G to Deliver to John Hubbard
—Ebn Plumby

Do Nov 24/78 Rec of G 64 h^d of cattle I.T.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS — II

DR. THOMAS YOUNG AND BERNARD ROMANS

Editor of the *Vermont Quarterly*

Dear Sir,

To the interesting article in your June number on the map of Vermont by Captain Bernard Romans, I may be able to add a few sidelights. Romans was an intimate friend of Doctor Thomas Young, the man who gave Vermont its name and also furnished its champions with a copy of the constitution of Pennsylvania, which was adopted as a model for the constitution of the then newly formed state of Vermont. When Romans was in Boston in 1774 he was in frequent touch with Young who at that time was living in Boston where he had been practicing medicine since 1766.

Boston in 1774 was a very troubled town. The closing of the port in June by the British soon made it difficult for anybody to get food or live with any semblance of comfort. Young, with his wife and six children slipped out of town in September and went to Newport, Rhode Island, where he remained until April 1775. Two days after the battle of Concord and Lexington he went to Philadelphia. He escaped at night, for he was being sought by the British as one of the arch enemies of the Crown. Before the departure of the doctor from Boston Romans had been trying to persuade him that he ought to pull up stakes and settle in West Florida. As a map maker Romans was familiar with both East and West Florida. Dr. Young was in no position to go to such a remote and unsettled district, and wisely preferred Philadelphia, which to him was only a temporary port in a storm. He had come away from Newport after foiling a nearly successful plot of the British to kidnap him. He fled in disguise at night in the garb of a sailor, and patriotic Newport friends afterward shipped to him the rest of his family.

Young attached himself to one of the Continental hospitals in Philadelphia, where he was associated in hospital work with Dr. Benjamin Rush, later one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and already a prominent physician. In 1776 he had become closely associated with the radical group of Pennsylvanians and had a hand in shaping the constitution which he was recommending to the Vermonters.

This last fact is learned by a statement by John Adams, who had been relieved by Dr. Young of a sight difficulty. But laboring on the care of stricken soldiers who suffered from a "putrid fever," Dr. Young contracted the disease and died suddenly June 24, 1777.

Young's death occurred about nine weeks after he had written the open letter of April 11 and April 12, 1777, in which he first used the word "Vermont." Young previously in 1776 had been in close touch with Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen, and other Green Mountain men who had been pressing Congress for admission to the Union. Romans also was in Philadelphia in 1776 and probably in 1777. Romans was thoroughly in sympathy with the aims of Vermont and must have known the details of the plans of the New Hampshire Grant leaders. The personal friendship between Romans and Young was heightened by the fact that the latter could speak both Dutch and German.

I am trying to make apparent that Dr. Young's residence in Philadelphia was entirely accidental. He was not in any sense a Pennsylvania man. Many Vermont historians have not grasped the fact that Young's presence in Philadelphia was dictated by events over which he had no control. He was, in point of fact, a New York man but he disliked intensely the group of selfish New Yorkers, the members of which were forcing their claim to the land we now call Vermont, and he was opposed to their theory of land ownership in the Hudson Valley. That is one reason why he got out of New York as soon as possible after he became a free thinking agent. He was born in New Windsor, Ulster County, New York, in 1732. He practiced medicine in Sharon, Connecticut from about 1754 to 1765 when he moved to Albany to escape the physical exhaustion of an extensive practice which took him on horseback through ten counties in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.

The Stamp Act troubles in Albany and elsewhere in New York finished that locality for Dr. Young who wanted to be in an atmosphere where the patriots had backbone. So he came to Boston and for eight years lived in a place where there was action morning, noon, and night. As a friend of Hancock and Samuel Adams he became one of the men marked by the British for arrest and was constantly watched. Once he just escaped assassination, barely deflecting to his shoulder the weapon aimed at his head. He retired for rest to Albany for three weeks after this assault, and then returned to resume his role as if nothing had happened. His home was near Dr. Joseph Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill, and they were close political and professional friends.

Reverting once more to Romans and his map of Vermont it deserves to be called "good" for that period but there are plenty of flaws, if one scrutinizes the map in detail. For instance the indentation near Burlington, probably intended for Mallett's Bay, is altogether too deep and is out of proportion, and farther north the Missisquoi River is not made to bend up into Canada, as it actually does, nor is the part of Missisquoi Bay that is in Canada anywhere near as large as it should be. The part of the map relating to what is now Orleans and Essex counties shows a lack of knowledge of the terrain, which perhaps is excusable as that part of the state was then almost unsettled. On the whole, however, it is not a "bad" map.

Captain Romans and Dr. Young were both contributors to the *Royal American Magazine* in 1774 and they got along famously, whereas Romans seems temperamentally to have been a "difficult man," and not by any means a "hale-fellow-well-met" type. Sketches of these two men are found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the one on Young, written by me, is inadequate on account of space limitations fixed by the editor.

Speaking of maps, it may not be inappropriate to call attention to a land map in manuscript, owned by the Vermont Historical Society, which is described by W. H. Hill in the December issue of 1930 under the title "A Land Map of John Henry Lydius." This map I have personally examined in Montpelier and found that it is in the handwriting of Doctor Young. Mr. Hill says the map is "excessively rare." It is my belief that it is even more than that. It probably is the only one in existence. Other maps that were in the possession of Lydius when he went to Europe apparently were lost at the same time that all his other private papers disappeared. Dr. Young, who wrote a brochure in defence of the title to this tract in 1764, lost his fortune in defending in court the validity of the title to the tract. The New York courts invalidated the grant and Dr. Young became a poor man. That was another reason why he moved from Albany to Boston.

GEORGE P. ANDERSON

PROSPECTUS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN VERMONT

By JOHN C. HUDEN

Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1943

\$4.50

The following study, a prospectus of which has been prepared for us by the author, is the latest publication of the Society. In addition to approval by the Publications Committee of the Society, it has been highly commended by a Yale University review committee. Orders may be sent directly to the Society at Montpelier. Members may order at one third discount. Mr. Huden is State Supervisor of High Schools.

The purpose of this study is to trace the development of State common school organization in Vermont from the time of its English settlement (1760-1777) until the recent past (1935).

The findings of this study indicate that in Vermont the education of children was first a duty of the family; next, a voluntary undertaking of the neighborhood; then a legal obligation of a district within a town; following that, a town function, and so on until it became the accepted role of a union of towns operating under state control.

Vermont's first constitution (1777) made common schools mandatory in every town, but in the revision of 1786 the language of compulsion was changed to this weak statement: "A competent number of schools *ought* to be maintained in each town." In substituting "ought" for "shall" the convention of 1786 practically emasculated the constitutional provision for schools. When Vermont entered the union in 1791 it of course accepted the United States constitution and all its implications, including the part which reserved unmentioned functions to the states; so from 1791 at least the task of educating children has been accepted in Vermont as a state responsibility. This has been promulgated by Vermont legislatures since 1797, if not before. (1782)

The impacts of epidemics, floods, crop-failures, depressions, migrations, traditions and the struggle with other governmental agencies for the tax dollar have resulted in intermittent progress from no state or-

ganization (extreme localism) to autonomy under state supervision (moderate centralism), financed in the main by local taxation, and receiving about one-seventh of its current funds from the state.

Increasingly from 1777 until 1892 sentiment for abolition of "school districts" grew, particularly after the "rate-bill" was eliminated by law in 1864. Between 1892 and 1915 the state became increasingly aware of its educational shortcomings; in the latter year, spurred by the report of the Carnegie commission, drastic revision of Vermont's educational code resulted in a reorganization which concentrated much control in the State Board and "took school affairs out of politics." From 1916 until 1923 some reaction was experienced, but by 1935 most of the reforms had been readopted. At present there remain many problems, but as these cannot be solved without greatly increased state appropriations it is probable that further advance will be relatively slow.

In order that all children may enjoy approximately equal educational advantages, and in order to discharge the responsibility of the state, there should be adequate provision for educational administration, supervision and finance by the state.

From its early history, Vermont has committed itself to the suitable education of its children. Vermont never had a colonial period such as Massachusetts and Connecticut had; fifteen years alone had elapsed from the time that settlement really started (1760) until the outbreak of hostilities in 1775, and only two more years had passed by when Vermont's first constitutional government was established. Failing admission to the union, Vermont in 1777 declared its independence and for fourteen years existed as a republic, governed by a governor and council plus a unicameral legislature. This arrangement persisted until 1836.

Fifty years elapsed between Vermont's first constitution and the election of Vermont's first State Board of Education in 1827. This board was abolished in 1833, and for twelve years state control languished. In 1845 the legislature elected a State Superintendent of Education; this arrangement continued for six years. Another period of state inactivity ensued; for five years there was neither state board nor state executive. In 1857, however, both were provided; this combination was in effect until 1874, when Vermont returned to the plan of having a State Superintendent and no state board. In 1912 a third attempt at state board organization was attempted, which has (with modifications) continued to the present, although in 1915 the chief education officer's title and duties were changed to those of a Commissioner of Education.

JCH

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